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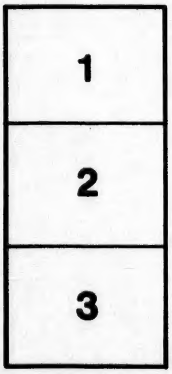

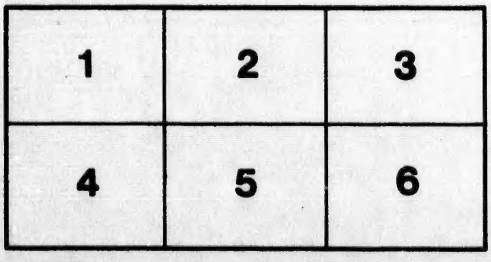

PETER WILLIAMSON
In the Dress of a Delaware Indian

1 Tomahawk.
2 Scalping Knife.
3 Shot Bag.
4 Purse & Belt of Wampum.
6 Powder horn.
6 Indian Canoe.
7 Bush Fighting.
8 War Dance.

FRENCH AND INDIAN CRUELTY

EXEMPLIFIED, IN THE

LIFE,

AND

VARIOUS VICISSITUDES OF FORTUNE,

OF

PETER WILLIAMSON,

WHO WAS CARRIED OFF FROM ABERDEEN IN HIS INFANCY, AND SOLD FOR A SLAVE IN PENSYLVANIA.

CONTAINING,

The Hiſtory of the Author's ſurpriſing Adventures in NORTH AMERICA; his Captivity among the Indians, and Manner of his Eſcape; the Cuſtoms, Dreſs, &c. of the Savages; Military Operations in that Quarter; with a Deſcription of the Britiſh Settlements, &c. &c.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

An Account of the Proceedings of the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen againſt him, on his Return to Scotland; a brief Hiſtory of his Proceſs againſt them before the Court of Seſſion; and a Short Diſſertation on KIDNAPPING.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR AND SOLD BY THE BOOKSELLERS.

M.DCC.XCII.

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FRENCH AND INDIAN CRUELTY.

THE reader is not here to expect a large and uſeleſs detail of the tranſactions of late years, in that part of the world, where, ever ſince my infancy, it has been my misfortune to have lived. Was it in my power, indeed, to ſet off with pompous diction, and embelliſh with artificial deſcriptions, what has ſo engroſſed the attention of Europe, as well as the ſcenes of action for ſome years paſt, perhaps I might; but my poor pen, being wholly unfit for ſuch a taſk, and never otherwiſe employed than juſt for my own affairs and amuſement, while I had the pleaſure of living tranquil and undiſturbed, I muſt beg leave to deſiſt from ſuch an attempt; and, if ſuch is expected from me, claim the indulgence of that pardon which is never refuſed to thoſe incapacitated of performing what may be deſired of them. And, as a plain, impartial, and ſuccinct narrative of my own life, and various viciſſitudes of fortune, is all I ſhall aim at, I ſhall herein confine myſelf to plain ſimple truth, and, in the dictates reſulting from an honeſt heart, give the reader no other entertainment than what ſhall be matter of fact; and of ſuch things as have actually happened to me, or come to my own knowledge, in the ſphere of life in which it has been my lot to be placed. Not but I hope I may be allowed, now and then, to carry on

my narrative from the informations I have received of ſuch things as relate to my deſign, though they have not been done or tranſacted in my preſence.

It being uſual in narratives like this, to give a ſhort account of the Author's birth, education, and juvenile exploits, the ſame being looked upon as neceſſary, or at leaſt a ſatisfactory piece of information to the curious and inquiſitive reader; I ſhall, without boaſting of a family I am no way entitled to, or recounting adventures in my youth to which I was entirely a ſtranger, in a ſhort manner gratify ſuch curioſity; not expecting, as I ſaid before, to be admired for that elegance of ſtyle, and profuſion of words, ſo univerſally made uſe of in details and hiſtories of thoſe adventurers, who have of late years obliged the world with their anecdotes and memoirs; and which have had ſcarce any other exiſtence than in the brains of a bookſeller's or printer's Garreteer; who, from fewer incidents, and leſs ſurpriſing matter, than will be found in this ſhort narrative, have been, and are daily enabled, to ſpin and work out their elaborate performances to three or four volumes. That I, like them, publiſh this for ſupport, is true; but as I am too ſenſible, the major part of mankind will give much more to a bookſeller, to be in the faſhion, or ſatisfy their curioſity, in having or reading a new puffed-up hiſtory or novel, than to a real object of diſtreſs, for an accurate and faithful account of a ſeries of misfortunes, I have thought it more adviſeable to confine myſelf as to ſize and price, than by making a larger volume, miſs that aſſiſtance and relief, of which I at preſent am in ſo great need.

Know, therefore, that I was born in Hirnlay, in the parish of Aboyne, and county of Aberdeen, North Britain.

Britain, if not of rich, yet of reputable parents, who supported me in the best manner they could, as long as they had the happiness of having me under their inspection: but fatally for me, and to their great grief, as it afterwards proved, I was sent to live with an aunt at Aberdeen; when, under the years of pupillarity, playing on the quay, with others of my companions, being of a stout robust constitution, I was taken notice of by two fellows belonging to a vessel in the harbour, employed (as the trade then was), by some of the worthy merchants of the town, in that villanous and execrable practice called Kidnapping; that is, stealing young children from their parents, and selling them as slaves in the Plantations abroad. Being marked out by those monsters of impiety as their prey, I was cajoled on board the ship by them, where I was no sooner got, than they conducted me between the decks, to some others they had kidnapped in the same manner. At that time, I had no sense of the fate that was destined for me, and spent the time in childish amusements with my fellow-sufferers in the steerage, being never suffered to go upon deck whilst the vessel lay in the harbour; which was until such a time as they had got in their loading, with a complement of unhappy youths for carrying on their wicked commerce.

In about a month's time the ship set sail for America. The treatment we met with, and the trifling incidents which happened during the voyage, I hope I may be excused from relating, as not being, at that time, of an age sufficient to remark any thing more than what must occur to every one on such an occasion. However, I cannot forget, that, when we arrived on the coast we were destined for, a hard gale of wind sprung up from the S. E. and, to the captain's great surprise (he

not thinking he was near land), although having been eleven weeks on the paſſage, about twelve o'clock at night the ſhip ſtruck on a ſand-bank, off Cape May, near the capes of Delaware, and, to the great terror and affright of the ſhip's company, in a ſhort time was almoſt full of water. The boat was then hoiſted out, into which the captain, and his fellow-villains, the crew, got with ſome difficulty, leaving me, and my deluded companions, to periſh; as they then naturally concluded inevitable death to be our fate. Often, in my diſtreſſes and miſeries ſince, have I wiſhed that ſuch had been the conſequence, when in a ſtate of innocence! But Providence thought proper to reſerve me for future trials of its goodneſs. Thus abandoned and deſerted, without the leaſt proſpect of relief, but threatened every moment with death, did theſe villains leave us. The cries, the ſhrieks, and tears of a parcel of infants, had no effect on, or cauſed the leaſt remorſe in the breaſts of theſe mercileſs wretches. Scarce can I ſay, to which to give the preference; whether to ſuch as theſe, who have had the opportunity of knowing the Chriſtian religion, or to the ſavages herein after deſcribed, who profane not the goſpel, or boaſt of humanity; and if they act in a more brutal and butcherly manner, yet it is to their enemies, for the ſake of plunder and the rewards offered them, for their principles are alike; the love of ſordid gain being both their motives. The ſhip being on a ſand-bank, which did not give way to let her deeper, we lay in the ſame deplorable condition until morning, when, though we ſaw the land of Cape May, at about a mile's diſtance, we knew not what would be our fate.

The wind at length abated, and the captain (unwilling to loſe all her cargo), about 10 o'clock, ſent

ſome

some of his crew in a boat to the ship's side to bring us on shore, where we lay in a sort of a camp, made of the sails of the vessel and such other things as they could get. The provisions lasted us until we were taken in by a vessel bound to Philadelphia, lying on this island, as well as I can recollect, near three weeks. Very little of the cargo was saved undamaged, and the vessel entirely lost.

When arrived and landed at Philadelphia, the capital of Pensylvania, the captain had soon people enough who came to buy us. He making the most of his villanous loading, after his disaster, sold us at about 16*l.* *per* head. What became of my unhappy companions, I never knew; but it was my lot to be sold to one of my countrymen, whose name was Hugh Wilson, a North Briton, for the term of seven years, who had in his youth undergone the same fate as myself; having been kidnapped from St Johnstown, in Scotland. As I shall often have occasion to mention Philadelphia during the course of my adventures, I shall, in this place, give a short and concise description of the finest city in America, and one of the best laid out in the world.

This city would have been a capital fit for an empire had it been built and inhabited according to the proprietor's plan. Considering its late foundation, it is a large city, and most commodiously situated between Delaware and Schuylkill, two navigable rivers. The former being two miles broad, and navigable 300 miles for small vessels. It extends in length two miles from one river to the other. There are eight long streets two miles in length, cut at right angles by sixteen others, of one mile in length, all straight and spacious. The houses are lately very numerous (being near 3000), and still increasing, and all carried on regularly according

to the first plan. It has two fronts to the water, one on the east side facing the Schuylkill, and that on the west facing the Delaware. The Schuylkill being navigable 800 miles above the falls, the eastern part is most populous, where the warehouses, some three stories high, and wharfs are numerous and convenient. All the houses have large orchards and gardens belonging to them. The merchants that reside here are numerous and wealthy, many of them keeping their coaches, &c. In the centre of the city there is a space of ten acres, whereon are built the state-house, market-house, and school-house. The former is built of brick, and has a prison under it. The streets have their names from the several sorts of timber common in Pensylvania; as Mulberry-street, Sassafras-street, Chesnut-street, Beech-street, and Cedar-street. The oldest church is Christ-church, and has a numerous congregation; but the major part of the inhabitants, being at first Quakers, still continue so, who have several meeting-houses, and may not improperly be called the church as by law established, being the originals. The quay is beautiful, and 200 feet square, to which a ship of 200 tons may lay her broad-side. As the advantages this city may boast of, has rendered it one of the best trading towns out of the British empire; so in all probability it will increase in commerce and riches, if not prevented by party, faction, and religious feuds, which of late years have made it suffer considerably. The assemblies and courts of judicature are held here, as in all capitals. The French have no city like it in all America.

Happy was my lot in falling into my countryman's power, as he was, contrary to many others of his calling, a humane, worthy, honest man. Having no children of his own, and commiserating

my unhappy condition, he took great care of me until I was fit for buſineſs; and about the 12th year of my age, ſet me about little trifles; in which ſtate I continued until my 14th year, when I was more fit for harder work. During ſuch my idle [illegible], ſeeing my fellow-ſervants often reading and [illegible]ing, it incited in me an inclination to learn, which I intimated to my maſter, telling him, I ſhould be very willing to ſerve a year longer than the contract by which I was bound, if he would indulge me in going to ſchool; this he readily agreed to, ſaying, that winter would be the beſt time. It being then ſummer, I waited with impatience for the other ſeaſon; but to make ſome progreſs in my deſign, I got a Primer, and learned as much from my fellow-ſervants as I could. At ſchool, where I went every winter for five years, I made a tolerable proficiency, [illegible] have ever ſince been improving myſelf at leiſure-[illegible]. With this good maſter I continued till I was ſeventeen years old, when he died; and, as a reward for my faithful ſervice, left me 200 *l.* currency, which was then about 120 *l.* Sterling, his beſt horſe, ſaddle, and all his wearing apparel.

Being now my own maſter, having money in my pocket, and all other neceſſaries, I employed myſelf in jobbing about the country, working for any that would employ me, for near ſeven years: when thinking I had [illegible]ent to follow ſome better way of life, I [illegible] but thought one ſtep neceſſary thereto, was to be married; for which purpoſe, I applied to the daughter of a ſubſtantial planter, and found my ſuit was not unacceptable to her or her father, ſo that matters were ſoon concluded upon, and we married. My father-in-law, in order to eſtabliſh us in the world, in an [illegible] if not affluent manner, made me a deed of gift of a tract of land, that lay (unhappily for me,

as it has since proved) on the frontiers of the province of Pensylvania, near the forks of Delaware, in Berks county, containing about 200 acres, 30 of which were well cleared, and fit for immediate use, whereon was a good house and barn. The place pleasing me well, I settled on it; and though it cost me the major part of my money, in buying stock, household-furniture, and implements for out-door work; and happy as I was in a good wife, yet did my felicity last me not long: For about the year 1754, the Indians in the French interest, who had for a long time before ravaged and destroyed other parts of America unmolested, I may very properly say, began to be very troublesome on the frontiers of our province, where they generally appeared in small skulking parties, with yellings, shoutings, and antic postures, instead of trumpets and drums, committing great devastations. The Pensylvanians little imagined at first, that the Indians, guilty of such outrages and violences, were some of those who pretended to be in the English interest; which, alas! proved to be too true to many of us: For, like the French in Europe, without regard to faith or treaties, they suddenly break out into furious, rapid outrages and devastations, but soon retire precipitately, having no stores or provisions but what they meet with in their incursions; some indeed carry a bag with biscuit, or Indian corn therein, but not unless they have a long march to their destined place of action. And those French, who were sent to dispossess us in that part of the world, being indefatigable in their duty, and continually contriving, and using all manner of ways and means to win the Indians to their interest, many of whom had been too negligent, and sometimes, I may say, cruelly treated by those who pretend to be their protectors and friends, found it no very difficult matter to get [illegible] to their interest, many who belonged to this [illegible]

tions in amity with us, especially as the rewards they gave them were so great, they paying for every scalp of an English person 15 *l.* Sterling.

Terrible and shocking to human nature were the barbarities daily committed by the savages, and are not to be paralleled in all the volumes of history! Scarce did a day pass but some unhappy family or other fell victims to *French chicanery* and savage cruelty. Terrible indeed it proved to me, as well as to many others; I that was now happy in an easy state of life, blessed with an affectionate and tender wife, who was possessed of all amiable qualities, to enable me to go through this world with that peace and serenity of mind, which every Christian wishes to possess, became on a sudden one of the most unhappy and deplorable of mankind; scarce can I sustain the shock which for ever recoils on me, at thinking on the last time of seeing that good woman. The fatal 2d of October 1754, she that day went from home to visit some of her relations; as I staid up later than usual, expecting her return, none being in the house besides myself, how great was my surprise, terror, and affright, when, about 11 o'clock at night I heard the dismal war-cry, or war-whoop of the savages, which they make on such occasions, and may be expressed, *Woach, woach, ha, ha, hach, woach,* and to my inexpressible grief, soon found my house was attacked by them; I flew to the chamber-window, and perceived them to be twelve in number. They making several attempts to come in, I asked them what they wanted? They gave me no answer, but continued beating, and trying to get the door open. Judge then the condition I must be in, knowing the cruelty and merciless disposition of those savages should I fall into their hands. To escape which dreadful misfortune, having my gun loaded in my hand, I threatened them with death, if they should not desist. But how

vain and fruitleſs are the efforts of one man againſt the united force of ſo many! and of ſuch mercileſs, undaunted, and blood-thirſty monſters as I had here to deal with. One of them that could ſpeak a little Engliſh, threatened me in return, "That if I did "not come out, they would burn me alive in the "houſe;" telling me farther, what I unhappily perceived, "That they were no friends to the Eng-"liſh, but if I would come out, and ſurrender my-"ſelf priſoner, they would not kill me." My terror and diſtraction at hearing this is not to be expreſſed by words, nor eaſily imagined by any perſon, unleſs in the ſame condition. Little could I depend on the promiſes of ſuch creatures; and yet, if I did not, inevitable death, by being burnt alive, muſt be my lot. Diſtracted as I was in ſuch deplorable circumſtances, I choſe to rely on the uncertainty of their fallacious promiſes, rather than meet with certain death by rejecting them; and accordingly went out of my houſe with my gun in my hand, not knowing what I did, or that I had it. Immediately on my approach, they ruſhed on me like ſo many tigers, and inſtantly diſarmed me. Having me thus in their power, the mercileſs villains bound me to a tree near the door: they then went into the houſe, and plundered and deſtroyed every thing there was in it, carrying off what moveables they could; the reſt, together with the houſe, which they ſet fire to, was conſumed before my eyes. The barbarians, not ſatisfied with this, ſet fire to my barn, ſtable, and out-houſes, wherein were about 200 buſhels of wheat, ſix cows, four horſes, and five ſheep, which underwent the ſame fate, being all entirely conſumed to aſhes. During the conflagration, to deſcribe the thoughts, the fears, and miſery that I felt, is utterly impoſſible, as it is even now to mention what I feel at the remembrance thereof.

Having

Having thus finiſhed the execrable buſineſs about which they came, one of the monſters came to me with a *tomahawk** in his hand, threatening me with the worſt of deaths, if I would not willingly go with them, and be contented with their way of living. This I ſeemingly agreed to, promiſing to do every thing for them that lay in my power; truſting to Providence for the time when I might be delivered out of their hands. Upon this they untied me, and gave me a great load to carry on my back, under which I travelled all that night with them, full of the moſt terrible apprehenſions, and oppreſſed with the greateſt anxiety of mind, leſt my unhappy wife ſhould likewiſe have fallen a prey to theſe cruel monſters. At day-break, my infernal maſters ordered me to lay down my load, when tying my hands again round a tree with a ſmall cord, they forced the blood out of my finger-ends. They then kindled a fire near the tree whereto I was bound, which filled me with the moſt dreadful agonies, concluding I was going to be made a ſacrifice to their barbarity.

This narrative, O reader! may ſeem dry and tedious to you: My miſeries and misfortunes, great as they have been, may be conſidered only as what others have daily met with for years paſt; yet, on reflection, you can't help indulging me in the recital of them: For to the unfortunate and diſtreſſed, recounting our miſeries, is, in ſome ſort, an alleviation of them.

Permit me therefore to proceed; not by recounting to you the deplorable condition I then was in,

* A TOMAHAWK is a kind of hatchet, made ſomething like our plaſterer's hammers, about two feet long, handle and all. To take up the hatchet (or TOMAHAWK) among them, is to declare war. They generally uſe it after firing their guns, by rushing on their enemies, and fracturing or cleaving their ſculls with it, and very ſeldom fail of killing at the firſt blow.

for that is more than can be described to you, by one who thought of nothing less than being immediately put to death in the most excruciating manner these devils could invent. The fire being thus made, they, for some time, danced round me after their manner, with various odd motions and antic gestures, whooping, hollowing, and crying in a frightful manner, as it is their custom. Having satisfied themselves in this sort of their mirth, they proceeded in a more tragical manner; taking the burning coals and sticks, flaming with fire at the ends, holding them near my face, head, hands, and feet, with a deal of monstrous pleasure and satisfaction; and, at the same time, threatening to burn me entirely, if I made the least noise, or cried out. Thus tortured as I was, almost to death, I suffered their brutal pleasure without being allowed to vent my inexpressible anguish, otherwise than by shedding silent tears; even which, when these inhuman tormentors observed, with a shocking pleasure and alacrity, they would take fresh coals, and apply near my eyes, telling me my face was wet, and that they would dry it for me, which indeed they cruelly did. How I underwent these tortures I have here faintly described, has been matter of wonder to me many times; but God enabled me to wait with more than common patience for a deliverance I daily prayed for.

Having at length satisfied their brutal pleasure, they sat down round the fire, and roasted their meat, of which they had robbed my dwelling. When they had prepared it, and satisfied their voracious appetites, they offered some to me; though it is easily imagined I had but little appetite to eat, after the tortures and miseries I had undergone; yet was I forced to seem pleased with what they offered me, lest, by refusing it, they had again re-assumed their hellish practices. What I could not eat, I con-

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trived to get between the bark and the tree, where I was fixed, they having unbound my hands till they imagined I had eat all they gave me; but then they again bound me as before; in which deplorable condition was I forced to continue all that day. When the sun was set, they put out the fire, and covered the ashes with leaves, as is their usual custom, that the white people might not discover any traces or signs of their having been there.

Thus had these barbarous wretches finished their first diabolical piece of work; and shocking as it may seem to the humane English heart, yet what I underwent was but trifling, in comparison to the torments and miseries which I was afterwards an eye-witness of being inflicted on others of my unhappy fellow-creatures.

Going from thence along by the river Susquehana for the space of six miles, loaded as I was before, we arrived at a spot near the Apalachian mountains, or Blue-Hills, where they hid their plunder under logs of wood.—And, oh, shocking to relate! from thence did these hellish monsters proceed to a neighbouring house, occupied by one Jacob Snider, and his unhappy family, consisting of his wife, five children, and a young man his servant. They soon got admittance into the unfortunate man's house, where they immediately, without the least remorse, and with more than brutal cruelty, *scalped* * the

* SCALPING, is taking off the skin from the top of the head, which they perform with a long knife that they hang round their neck, and always carry with them. They cut the skin round as much of the head as they think proper, sometimes quite round from the neck and forehead, then take it in their fingers and pluck it off, and often leave the unhappy creatures, so served, to die in a most miserable manner. Some, who are not cut deep in the temples or scull, live in horrid torments many days, and sometimes a day or two after. The scalps, or skins when taken off, they preserve and carry home in triumph, where they receive, as is said before, a considerable sum for every

render

tender parents and the unhappy children: Nor could the tears, the ſhrieks, or cries of theſe unhappy victims prevent their horrid maſſacre: For having thus ſcalped them, and plundered the houſe of every thing that was moveable, they ſet fire to the ſame, where the poor creatures met their final doom amidſt the flames, the helliſh miſcreants ſtanding at the door, or as near the houſe as the flames would permit them, rejoicing, and echoing back in their diabolical manner, the piercing cries, heart-rending groans, and paternal and affectionate ſoothings, which iſſued from this moſt horrid ſacrifice of an innocent family. Sacrifice! I think I may properly call it, to the aggrandizing the ambition of a king, who wrongly ſtyles himſelf *Moſt Chriſtian*. For, had theſe ſavages been never tempted with the alluring bait of all-powerful gold, myſelf as well as hundreds of others, might ſtill have lived moſt happily in our ſtations. If Chriſtians countenance, nay, hire thoſe wretches, to live in a continual repetition of plunder, rapine, murder, and conflagration, in vain are miſſionaries ſent, or ſums expended for the propagation of the goſpel. But theſe ſentiments, with many others, muſt, before the end of this narrative, occur to every humane heart.——Therefore to proceed; not contented with what theſe infernals had already done, they ſtill continued their inordinate villany, in making a general conflagration of the barn and ſtables, together with all the corn, horſes, cows, and every thing on the place.

Thinking the young man belonging to this unhappy family would be of ſome ſervice to them, in carrying part of their helliſh acquired plunder, they ſpared his life, and loaded him and myſelf with what they had here got, and again marched to the Blue-Hills, where they ſtowed their goods as before. My fellow-ſufferer could not long bear the cruel treat-

ment

ment which we were both obliged to suffer, complaining bitterly to me of his being unable proceed any farther, I endeavoured to condole as much as lay in my power, to bear up under his afflictions, and wait with patience, till, by the divine assistance, we should be delivered out of their clutches; but all in vain, for he still continued his moans and tears, which one of the savages perceiving as we travelled on, instantly came up to us, and with his tomahawk, gave him a blow on the head, which felled the unhappy youth to the ground, where they immediately scalped and left him. The suddenness of this murder shocked me to that degree, that I was in a manner like a statue, being quite motionless, expecting my fate would soon be the same: However, recovering my distracted thoughts, I dissembled the uneasiness and anguish which I felt as well as I could from the barbarians, but still, such was the terror that I was under, that for some time I scarce knew the days of the week, or what I did; so that at this period, life indeed became a burden to me, and I regretted my being saved from my first persecutors, the sailors.

The horrid fact being completed, they kept on their course near the mountains, where they lay skulking four or five days, rejoicing at the plunder and store they had got. When provisions became scarce, they made their way towards Suiquehana; where, still to add to the many barbarities they had already committed, passing near another house inhabited by an unhappy old man, whose name was John Adams, with his wife and four small children; and, meeting with no resistance, they immediately scalped the unhappy wife and her four children, before the good old man's eyes. Inhumane and horrid as this was, it did not satiate them; for when they had murdered the poor woman, they acted with her in such a brutal manner, as decency, or

the

remembrance of the crime, will not permit me to mention; and this even before the unhappy husband, who, not being able to avoid the sight, and incapable of affording her the least relief, entreated them to put an end to his miserable being: but they were as deaf, and regardless to the tears, prayers, and entreaties of this venerable sufferer, as they had been to those of the others, and proceeded in their hellish purpose of burning and destroying his house, barn, corn, hay, cattle, and every thing the poor man a few hours before was master of. Having saved what they thought proper from the flames, they gave the old man, feeble, weak, and in the miserable condition he then was, as well as myself, burdens to carry, and loading themselves likewise with bread and meat, pursued their journey on towards the Great Swamp; where being arrived, they lay for eight or nine days, sometimes diverting themselves in exercising the most attrocious and barbarous cruelties on their unhappy victim, the old man; sometimes they would strip him naked, and paint him all over with various sorts of colours, which they extracted, or made from herbs and roots: at other times they would pluck the white hairs from his venerable head, and tauntingly tell him, *He was a fool for living so long, and that they would shew him kindness in putting him out of the world*; to all which the poor creature could but vent his sighs, his tears, his moans, and entreaties, that, to my affrighted imagination, were enough to penetrate a heart of adamant, and soften the most obdurate savage. In vain, alas! were all his tears, for daily did they tire themselves with the various [illegible] they used to torment him; sometimes tying him to a tree, and whipping him; at others, scorching his furrowed cheeks with red-hot coals, and burning his legs, quite to the knees: but the good old man instead of repining, or wickedly arraigning his

the divine juſtice, like many others in ſuch caſes, even in the greateſt agonies, inceſſantly offered up his prayers to the Almighty, with the moſt fervent thankſgivings for his former mercies, and hoping the flames, then ſurrounding and burning his aged limbs, would ſoon ſend him to the bliſsful manſions of the juſt, to be a partaker of the bleſſings there. And, during ſuch his pious ejaculations, his infernal plagues would come round him, mimicking his heart-rending groans, and piteous wailings. One night after he had been thus tormented, whilſt he and I were ſitting together condoling each other at the misfortunes and miſeries we daily ſuffered, twenty ſcalps and three priſoners were brought in by another party of Indians. They had unhappily fallen in their hands in Cannocojigge, a ſmall town near the river Suſquehana, chiefly inhabited by the Iriſh. Theſe priſoners gave us ſome ſhocking accounts of the murders and devaſtations committed in their parts. The various and complicated actions of theſe barbarians would entirely fill a large volume; but what I have already written, with a few other inſtances which I ſhall ſelect from their information, will enable the reader to gueſs at the horrid treatment the Engliſh, and Indians in their intereſt, ſuffered for many years paſt. I ſhall therefore only mention, in a brief manner, thoſe that ſuffered near the ſame time with myſelf. This party, who now joined us, had it not [illegible] in their power to begin their wickedneſs as ſoon as thoſe who viſited my habitation; the firſt of their tragedies being on the 25th day of October 1754, when John Lewis, with his wife, and three ſmall children, fell ſacrifices to their cruelty, and were miſerably ſcalped and murdered; his houſe, barn, and every thing he poſſeſſed, being burnt and deſtroyed. On the 28th, Jacob Miller, with his wife and ſix of his family, together with every

thing

thing on his plantation, underwent the same fate. The 30th, the house, mill, barn, twenty head of cattle, two teams of horses, and every thing belonging to the unhappy George Folke, met with the like treatment; himself, wife, and all his miserable family, consisting of nine in number, being inhumanly scalped, then cut in pieces, and given to the swine, which devoured them. I shall give another instance of the numberless and unheard of barbarities they related of these savages, and proceed to their own tragical end. In short, one of the substantial traders belonging to the province, having business that called him some miles up the country, fell into the hands of these devils, who not only scalped him, but immediately roasted him before he was dead; then, like cannibals for want of other food, eat his whole body, and of his head made what they called an Indian pudding.

From these few instances of savage cruelty, the deplorable situation of the defenceless inhabitants, and what they hourly suffered in that part of the globe, must strike the utmost horror to a human soul, and cause in every breast the utmost detestation, not only against the authors of such tragic scenes, but against those who through perfidy, inattention, or pusillanimous and erroneous principles, suffered these savages at first, unrepelled, or even unmolested, to commit such outrages and incredible depredations and murders: For no torments, no barbarities that can be exercised on the human sacrifices they get into their power, are left untried or omitted.

The three prisoners that were brought with these additional forces, constantly repining at their lot, and almost dead with their excessive hard treatment, contrived at last to make their escape; but being far from their own settlements, and not knowing

the country, were ſoon after met by ſome others of the tribes or nations at war with us, and brought back to their diabolical maſters, who greatly rejoiced at having them again in their infernal power. The poor creatures almoſt famiſhed for want of ſuſtenance, having had none during the time of their elopement, were no ſooner in the clutches of the barbarians, than two of them were tied to a tree, and a great fire made round them, where they remained till they were terribly ſcorched and burnt; when one of the villains, with his ſcalping knife, ript open their bellies, took out their entrails, and burnt them before their eyes, whilſt the others were cutting, piercing, and tearing the fleſh from their breaſts, hands, arms, and legs, with red hot irons, till they were dead. The third unhappy victim was reſerved a few hours longer, to be, if poſſible, ſacrificed in a more cruel manner; his arms were tied cloſe to his body, and a hole being dug deep enough for him to ſtand upright, he was put therein, and earth rammed and beat in all round his body up to his neck, ſo that his head only appeared above ground; they then ſcalped him, and there let him remain for three or four hours in the greateſt agonies; after which they made a ſmall fire near his head, cauſing him to ſuffer the moſt excruciating torments imaginable, whilſt the poor creature could only cry for mercy in killing him immediately, for his brains were boiling in his head: Inexorable to all his plaints, they continued the fire, whilſt, ſhocking to behold! his eyes guſhed out of their ſockets; and ſuch agonizing torments did the unhappy creature ſuffer for near two hours, till he was quite dead! They then cut off his head, and buried it with the other bodies; my taſk being to dig the graves, which, feeble and terrified as I was, the dread of ſuffering the ſame fate, enabled me to do. I ſhall not here take up the reader's time, in vainly attempting

attempting to describe what I felt on such an occasion, but continue my narrative, as more equal to my abilities.

A great snow now falling, the barbarians were a little fearful, lest the white people should, by their traces, find out their skulking retreats, which obliged them to make the best of their way to their winter-quarters, about 200 miles farther from any plantations, or inhabitants: where, after a long and tedious journey, being almost starved, I arrived with this infernal crew. The place where we were to rest, in their tongue, is called Alamingo. There we found a number of wigwams * full of their women and children. Dancing, singing, and shooting were their general amusements; and in all their festivals and dances, they relate what successes they have had, and what damages they have sustained in their expeditions; in which I became part of their theme. The severity of the cold increasing, they stript me of my clothes for their own use, and gave me such as they usually wore themselves, being a piece of blanket, a pair of *mogganes*, or shoes, with a yard of coarse cloth, to put round me instead of breeches. To describe their dress and manner of living may not be altogether unacceptable to some of my readers; but as the size of this book will not permit me to be so particular as I might otherwise be, I shall just observe,

That they in general wear a white blanket, which, in war-time, they paint with various figures; but particularly the leaves of trees, in order to deceive their enemies when in the woods. Their mogganes are made of deer-skins, and the best sort have them

* Wigwams are the names they give their houses, which are no more than little huts, made with three or four forked stakes drove into the ground, and covered with deer or other skins, or for want of them, with large leaves and earth.

bound round the edges with little beads and ribands. On their legs they wear pieces of blue cloth for ſtockings, ſomething like our ſoldiers ſpatterdaſhes; they reach higher than their knees, but not lower than their ancles; they eſteem them eaſy to run in. Breeches they never wear, but inſtead thereof two pieces of linen, one before, and another behind. The better ſort have ſhirts of the fineſt linen they can get, and to theſe ſome wear ruffles; but theſe they never put on till they have painted them of various colours, which they get from the Pecone root, and bark of trees, and never pull them off to waſh, but wear them till they fall to pieces. They are very proud, and take great delight in wearing trinkets; ſuch as ſilver plates round their wriſts and necks, with ſeveral ſtrings of wampum (which is made of cotton, interwove with pebbles, cockle-ſhells, &c.), down to their breaſts; and from their ears and noſes they have rings and beads, which hang dangling an inch or two. The men have no beards, to prevent which they uſe certain inſtruments and tricks as ſoon as it begins to grow. The hair of their heads is managed differently, ſome pluck out and deſtroy all, except a lock hanging from the crown of the head, which they interweave with wampum and feathers of various colours. The women wear it very long twiſted down their backs, with beads, feathers, and wampum; and on their heads moſt of them wear little coronets of braſs or copper; round their middle they wear a blanket inſtead of a petticoat. The females are very chaſte, and conſtant to their huſbands; and if any young maiden ſhould happen to have a child before marriage, ſhe is never eſteemed afterwards. As for their food they get it chiefly by hunting and ſhooting, and boil, broil, or roaſt all the meat they eat. Their ſtanding diſh conſiſts of Indian corn ſoaked, then bruiſed and boiled over a gentle fire, the re-

or twelve hours. Their bread is likewiſe made of wild oats, or ſun-flower ſeeds. Set meals they never regard, but eat when they are hungry. Their gun, tomahawk, ſcalping knife, powder and ſhot, are all they have to carry with them in time of war; bows and arrows being ſeldom uſed by them. They generally in war decline open engagements; buſh fighting or ſkulking is their diſcipline; and they are brave when engaged, having great fortitude in enduring tortures and death. No people have a greater love of liberty, or affection to their relations; but they are the moſt implacably vindictive people upon the earth, for they revenge the death of any relation, or any great affront, whenever occaſion preſents, let the diſtance of time or place be never ſo remote. To all which I may add, and what the reader has already obſerved, that they are inhumanly cruel. But, ſome other nations might be more happy, if, in ſome inſtances, they copied them, and made *wiſe conduct*, *courage*, *and perſonal ſtrength*, the *chief* recommendations for war-captains, or *werowances*, as they call them. In times of peace they viſit the plantations inhabited by the whites, to whom they ſell baſkets, ladles, ſpoons, and other ſuch trifles, which they are very expert in making. When night comes, if admitted into any houſe, they beg leave to lie down by the fire-ſide, chuſing that place rather than any other, which is ſeldom refuſed them, if ſober, for then they are honeſt; but if drunk, are very dangerous and troubleſome, if people enough are not in the houſe to quell them. Nor would they at any time be guilty of ſuch barbarous depredations as they are, did not thoſe calling themſelves Chriſtians, entice them thereto with ſtrong liquors, which they are vaſtly fond of; as well as by the pecuniary rewards which they give for the ſcalps. If ambition cannot be gratified, or ſuperiority obtained, other-

wise than by the death of thousands, would it not, in those who seek such airy phantoms, and are so inordinately fond of their fellow-creatures lives, savour a little more of humanity to have them killed instantly, and, if they must have proofs of murder, scalped afterwards, than, by allowing and encouraging such mercileſs treatment, render themselves as obnoxious, cruel, and barbarous, to a humane mind, as the very savages themselves?—However, they sometimes suffer by their plots and chicanery laid for the destruction of others; it often happening that the traders or emissaries sent to allure them to the execution of their schemes, rightly fall victims themselves; for, as they always carry with them horse-loads of rum, which the Indians are fond of, they soon get drunk, quarrelsome, and wicked, and, in their fury, often kill and destroy their tempters: A just reward for their wicked designs! nay, it has such an effect on them, that when so intoxicated, they even burn and consume all their own effects, beating, wounding, and sometimes killing their wives and children: But, in disputes among themselves when sober, they are very tenacious of decorum, never allowing more than one to speak at a time. Profane swearing they know not in their own language how to express, but are very fond of the French and English oaths.

The old people, who are by age and infirmities rendered incapable of being serviceable to the community, they put out of the world in a barbarous and extraordinary manner; an instance of which I had, whilst among them, an opportunity of seeing practised on an old Indian. He being, through age, feeble and weak, and his eyes failing him, so that he was unable to get his living either by hunting or shooting, was summoned to appear before several of the leading ones, who were to be his judges. Before whom being come, and having no-

thing to say for himself (as how indeed could he prove himself to be young?) they very formally, and with a seeming degree of compassion, passed sentence on him to be put to death. This was soon after executed on him in the following manner: He was tied naked to a tree, and a boy, who was to be his executioner, stood ready with a tomahawk in his hands, to beat his brains out; but when the young monster came to inflict the sentence, he was so short of stature, that he could not lift the tomahawk high enough; upon which he was held up by some others, a great concourse being present; and then, though the young devil laid on with all his strength, he was not for some time able to fracture the old man's scull, so that it was near an hour before he was dead.——Thus are they from their youth inured to barbarity!

When they found no remains of life in him, they put him into a hole dug in the ground for that purpose, in which he stood upright. Into his left-hand they put an old gun, and hung a small powder-horn and shot-bag about his shoulder, and a string of wampum round his neck; and into his right-hand a little silk purse, with a bit of money in it; then filled the hole round, and covered him over with earth. This I found to be the usual manner of treating the old of both sexes; only that the women are killed by young girls, and put into the ground with nothing but a ladle in one hand, and a wooden dish in the other.

They are very strict in punishing offenders, especially such as commit crimes against any of the royal families. They never hang any; but those sentenced to death are generally bound to a stake, and a great fire made round them, but not so near as to burn them immediately; for they sometimes remain roasting in the middle of the flames for two or three days before they are dead.

After

After this long digreſſion, it is-time to return to the detail of my own affairs.—At Alamingo was I kept near two months, until the ſnow was off the ground. A long time to be amongſt ſuch creatures, and naked as I almoſt was! Whatever thoughts I might have of making my eſcape, to carry them into execution was impracticable, being ſo far from any plantations or white people, and the ſevere weather rendering my limbs in a manner quite ſtiff and motionleſs; however, I contrived to defend myſelf againſt the inclemency of the weather as well as I could, by making myſelf a little wigwam, with the bark of the trees, covering the ſame with earth, which made it reſemble a cave; and, to prevent the ill effects of the cold which penetrated into it, I was forced to keep a good fire always near the door.

Thus did I for near two months endure ſuch hardſhips of cold and hunger as had hitherto been unknown to me. My liberty of going about was, indeed more than I could have expected, but they well knew the impracticability of my eloping from them. Seeing me outwardly eaſy and ſubmiſſive, they would ſometimes give me a little meat, but my chief food was Indian corn, dreſſed as I have above deſcribed. Notwithſtanding ſuch their civility, the time paſſed ſo tedious on, that I almoſt began to deſpair of ever regaining my liberty, or ſeeing my few relations again; which, with the anxiety and pain I ſuffered on account of my dear wife, often gave me inexpreſſible concern.

At length the time arrived when they were preparing themſelves for another expedition againſt the planters and white people; but before they ſet out, they were joined by many other Indians from Fort du Queſne, well ſtored with powder and ball they had received from the French.

As

As ſoon as the ſnow was quite gone, and no traces of their vile foot-ſteps could be perceived, they ſet forth on their journey towards the back parts of the province of Penſylvania, leaving their wives and children behind in their wigwams. They were now a terrible and formidable body, amounting to near 150. My duty was to carry what they thought proper to load me with, but they never intruſted me with a gun. We marched on ſeveral days without any thing particular occurring, almoſt famiſhed for want of proviſions; for my part I had nothing but a few ſtalks of Indian corn, which I was glad to eat dry: Nor did the Indians themſelves fare much better, for as we drew near the plantations, they were afraid to kill any game, leſt the noiſe of their guns ſhould alarm the inhabitants.

When we again arrived at the Blue Hills, about 30 miles from Cannocojigge, the Iriſh ſettlement before mentioned, we encamped for three days, though God knows we had neither tents, nor any thing elſe to defend us from the inclemency of the air, having nothing to lie on by night but the graſs. Their uſual method of lodging, pitching, or encamping, by night, being in parcels of ten or twelve men to a fire, where they lie upon the graſs or buſhes, wrapt up in a blanket, with their feet to the fire.

During our ſtay here, a ſort of council of war was held, when it was agreed to divide themſelves into companies of about twenty men each; after which every captain marched with his party where he thought proper. I ſtill belonged to my old maſters, but was left behind on the mountains with ten Indians, to ſtay until the reſt ſhould return; not thinking it proper to carry me nearer the Cannocojigge, or the other plantations.

Here being left, I began to meditate on my eſcape; and though I knew the country round extremely well, having been often thereabouts with my

my companions, hunting deer, and other beaſts, yet was I very cautious of giving the leaſt ſuſpicion of ſuch my intention. However, the third day after the grand body left us, my companions or keepers thought proper to viſit the mountains in ſearch of game for their ſubſiſtence, leaving me bound in ſuch a manner that I could not eſcape: At night, when they returned, having unbound me, we all ſat down together to ſupper on two polecats, being what they had killed, and ſoon after (being greatly fatigued with their day's excurſion) they compoſed themſelves to reſt as uſual. Obſerving them to be in that ſomniferous ſtate, I tried various ways to ſee whether it was a ſcheme to prove my intentions or not; but after making a noiſe, and walking about, ſometimes touching them with my feet, I found there was no fallacy. My heart then exulted with joy at ſeeing a time come that I might in all probability be delivered from my captivity, but this joy was ſoon damped by the dread of being diſcovered by them, or taken by any ſtraggling parties. To prevent which, I reſolved, if poſſible, to get one of their guns, and, if diſcovered, to die in my defence rather than be taken; for that purpoſe, I made various efforts to get one from under their heads (where they always ſecured them), but in vain. Fruſtrated in this my firſt eſſay towards regaining my liberty, I dreaded the thoughts of carrying my deſign into execution: yet, after a little conſideration, and truſting myſelf to the divine protection, I ſet forwards naked and defenceleſs as I was. A raſh and dangerous enterpriſe! Such was my terror, however, that in going from them I halted and pauſed every four or five yards, looking fearfully towards the ſpot where I had left them, leſt they ſhould awake and miſs me; but when I was about two hundred yards from them, I mended my pace, and made as much haſte as I could to the

foot

foot of the mountains; when on a ſudden I was ſtruck with the greateſt terror and amaze at hearing the wood-cry, as it is called, and may be expreſſed *Jo hau! Jo hau!* which the ſavages I had left were making, accompanied with the moſt hideous cries and howlings they could utter. The bellowing of lions, the ſhrieks of hyenas, or the roarings of tigers, would have been muſic to my ears, in compariſon to the ſounds that then ſaluted them. They having now miſſed their charge, I concluded that they would ſoon ſeparate themſelves, and hie in queſt of me. The more my terror increaſed, the faſter did I puſh on, and ſcarce knowing where I trode, drove through the woods with the utmoſt precipitation, ſometimes falling and bruiſing myſelf, cutting my feet and legs againſt the ſtones in a miſerable manner; but, though faint and maimed, I continued my flight until break of day, when, without having any thing to ſuſtain nature but a little corn left, I crept into a hollow tree, in which I lay very ſnug, and returned my prayers and thanks to the Divine Being, that had thus far favoured my eſcape. But my repoſe was in a few hours deſtroyed at hearing the voices of the ſavages near the place where I was hid, threatening and talking how they would uſe me, if they got me again; that I was before too ſenſible of, to have the leaſt reſt either in body or mind ſince I had left them. However, they at laſt left the ſpot where I heard them, and I remained in my circular aſylum all that day without further moleſtation.

At night I ventured forwards again, frightened and trembling at every buſh I paſt, thinking each twig that touched me to be a ſavage. The third day I concealed myſelf in the like manner, and at night I travelled on in the ſame deplorable condition, keeping off the main road uſed by the Indians as much as poſſible, which made my journey many miles

miles longer, and more painful and irkſome than I can expreſs. But how ſhall I deſcribe the fear, terror, and ſhock, that I felt on the fourth night, when, by the ruſtling I made among the leaves, a party of Indians, that lay round a ſmall fire, which I did not perceive, ſtarted from the ground, and ſeizing their arms, run from the fire amongſt the woods. Whether to move forward, or to reſt where I was, I knew not, ſo diſtracted was my imagination. In this melancholy ſtate, revolving in my thoughts the now inevitable fate I thought waited on me, to my great conſternation and joy, I was relieved by a parcel of ſwine that made towards the place I gueſſed the ſavages to be; who, on ſeeing the hogs, conjectured that their alarm had been occaſioned by them, and very merrily returned to the fire, and lay down to ſleep as before. As ſoon as I perceived my enemies ſo diſpoſed of, with more cautious ſtep and ſilent tread, I purſued my courſe, ſweating (though winter, and ſeverely cold) with the fear I had juſt been relieved from. Bruiſed, cut, mangled, and terrified as I was, I ſtill, through the divine aſſiſtance, was enabled to purſue my journey until break of day, when thinking myſelf far off from any of thoſe miſcreants I ſo much dreaded, I lay down under a great log, and ſlept undiſturbed until about noon, when getting up, I reached the ſummit of a great hill with ſome difficulty, and looking out if I could ſpy any inhabitants of white people, to my unutterable joy I ſaw ſome, which I gueſſed to be about ten miles diſtance.

This pleaſure was in ſome meaſure abated, by my not being able to get among them that night; therefore, when evening approached, I again recommended myſelf to the Almighty, and compoſed my weary mangled limbs to reſt. In the morning, as ſoon as I awoke, I continued my journey towards the neareſt cleared lands I had ſeen the day before,

before, and about four o'clock in the afternoon arrived at the house of John Bell, an old acquaintance, where, knocking at the door, his wife, who opened it, seeing me in such a frightful condition, flew from me like lightning, screaming into the house. This alarmed the whole family, who immediately fled to their arms, and I was soon accosted by the master with his gun in his hand. But on my assuring him of my innocence as to any wicked intentions, and making myself known (for he before took me to be an Indian), he immediately caressed me, as did also his family, with a deal of friendship, at finding me alive; they having all been informed of my being murdered by the savages some months before. No longer now able to support my fatigued and worn-out spirts, I fainted and fell to the ground. From which state having recovered me, and perceiving the weak and famished condition I then was in, they soon gave me some refreshment, but let me partake of it very sparingly, fearing the ill effects too much at once would have on me. They for two or three nights very affectionately supplied me with all necessaries, and carefully attended me until my spirits and limbs were pretty well recruited, and I thought myself able to ride, when I borrowed of these good people (whose kindness merits my most grateful return) a horse and some clothes, and set forward for my father-in-law's house in Chester county, about 140 miles from thence, where I arrived on the 4th day of January 1755; but scarce one of the family could credit their eyes, believing, with the people I had lately left, that I had fallen a prey to the Indians.

Great was the joy and satisfaction wherewith I was received and embraced by the whole family; but, oh, what was my anguish and trouble, when on inquiring for my dear wife, I found she had been dead near two months! This fatal news, as every hu-

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ing reader must imagine, greatly lessened the joy and rapture I otherwise should have felt at my deliverance from the dreadful state and captivity I had been in.

The news of my happy arrival at my father-in-law's house, after so long and strange an absence, was soon spread round the neighbouring plantations, by the country people who continually visited me, being very desirous of hearing and eagerly inquiring an account of my treatment and manner of living among the Indians; in all which I satisfied them. Soon after this my arrival, I was sent for by his excellency Mr. Morris, the governor, a worthy gentleman, who examined me very particularly as to all incidents relating to my captivity, and especially in regard to the Indians, who had first taken me away, whether they were French or English parties. I assured his excellency they were of those who professed themselves to be friends of the former; and informed him of the many barbarous and inhuman actions I had been witness to among them, on the frontiers of the province; and also that they were daily increasing, by others of our pretended friends joining them; that they were all well supplied by the French with arms and ammunition, and greatly encouraged by them in their continual excursions and barbarities, not only in having extraordinary premiums for such scalps as they should take and carry home with them at their return, but great presents of all kinds, besides rum, powder, ball, &c. before they sallied forth. Having satisfied his excellency in such particulars as he requested, the same being put into writing, I swore to the contents thereof, as may be seen by those who doubt of my veracity in the public papers of that time; as well in England as in Philadelphia. Having done with me, Mr. Morris gave me three pounds, and sent the affidavit to the assembly who were then sit-

ting in the ſtate-houſe at Philadelphia, concluding on proper meaſures to check the depredations of the ſavages, and put a ſtop to the barbarous hoſtilities of the diſtreſſed inhabitants, who daily ſuffered death in a moſt deplorable condition; beſides being obliged to abſcond their plantations, and the country being left deſolate for ſeveral hundred miles on the frontiers, and the poor ſufferers could have no relief, by reaſon of the diſputes between the governor and the aſſembly. The former was led by the inſtructions of the proprietor, which was entirely againſt the intereſt of the province, ſo that it cauſed great confuſion among the people to ſee the country ſo deſtroyed, and no preparations making for its defence.

However, on receiving this intelligence from his excellency, they immediately ſent for me. When I arrived, I was conducted into the lower houſe, where the aſſembly then ſat, and was there interrogated by the ſpeaker, very particularly, as to all I had before given the governor an account of. This my firſt examination laſted three hours. The next day I underwent a ſecond for about an hour and a half, when I was courteouſly diſmiſſed, with a promiſe that all proper methods ſhould be taken, not only to accommodate and reimburſe all thoſe who had ſuffered by the ſavages, but to prevent them from committing the like hoſtilities for the future.

Now returned, and once more at liberty to purſue my own inclinations, I was perſuaded by my father-in-law and friends to follow ſome employment or other; but the plantation, from whence I was taken, though an exceeding good one, could not tempt me to ſettle on it again. What my fate would have been if I had, may eaſily be conceived. And there being at this time (as the aſſembly too late for many of us found) a neceſſity for raiſing men to check thoſe barbarians in their ravaging depredations, I inliſted myſelf as one, with the greateſt ala-

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crity and moſt determined reſolution, to exert the utmoſt of my power; in being revenged on the helliſh authors of my ruin. General Shirley, governor of New England, and commander in chief of his Majeſty's land-forces in North America, was pitched upon, to direct the operations of the war in that part of the world.

Into a regiment immediately, under the command of this general, was it my lot to be placed for three years. This regiment was intended for the frontiers, to deſtroy the forts erected by the French, as ſoon as it ſhould be completely furniſhed with arms, &c. at Boſton in New England, where it was ordered for that purpoſe. Being then very weak, and infirm in body, though poſſeſſed of my reſolution, it was thought adviſeable to leave me for two months in winter-quarters. At the end of which, being pretty well recruited in ſtrength, I ſet out for Boſton, to join the regiment with ſome others, likewiſe left behind: and after croſſing the river Delaware, we arrived at New Jerſey, and from thence proceeded through the ſame by New York, Middletown, Mendon in Connecticut, to Boſton, where we arrived about the end of March, and found the regiment ready to receive us.

Boſton, being the capital of New England, and the largeſt city in America, except two or three on the Spaniſh continent, I ſhall here ſubjoin a ſhort account of it.

It is pleaſantly ſituated, and about four miles in compaſs, at the bottom of Maſſachuſet's Bay, into which there is but one common and ſafe paſſage, and not very broad, there being ſcarce room for three ſhips to come in a-breaſt; but once in, there is room for the anchorage of 500 ſail. It is guarded by ſeveral rocks, and above a dozen iſlands; the moſt remarkable of theſe iſlands is Caſtle-Iſland, which ſtands about a league from the town, and ſo

ſituated, that no ſhip of burden can approach the town, without the hazard of being ſhattered in pieces by its cannon. It is now called Fort-William, and mounted with 100 pieces of ordnance; 200 more which were given to the province by Queen Anne, are placed on a platform, ſo as to rake a ſhip fore and aft, before ſhe can bring about her broadſides to bear againſt the caſtle. Some of theſe cannon are 42 pounders; 500 able men are exempted from all military duty in times of war, to be ready at an hour's warning, to attend the ſervice of the caſtle, upon a ſignal of the approach of an enemy, which there ſeems to be no great danger of at Boſton; where in 24 hours time, 10,000 effective men, well armed, might be ready for their defence. According to a computation of the collectors of the Light-houſe, it appeared there were 24,000 tons of ſhipping cleared annually.

The pier is at the bottom of the bay, 2000 feet long, and runs ſo far into the bay, that ſhips of the greateſt burden may unload without the help of boats or lighters. At the upper end of the chief ſtreet in the town, which comes down to the head of the pier, is the Town-houſe, or Exchange, a fine building, containing, beſides the walk for merchants, the Council-chamber, the Houſe of Commons, and a ſpacious room for the courts of juſtice. The Exchange is ſurrounded with bookſellers ſhops that have a good trade: Here being five printing-houſes, and the preſſes generally full of work, which is in a great meaſure owing to the colleges and ſchools in New England; and likewiſe at New York and Philadelphia, there are ſeveral printing-houſes lately erected, and bookſellers conſtantly employed, as well as at Virginia, Maryland, South Carolina, Barbadoes, and the Sugar-Iſlands.

The town lies in the form of an half-moon, round the harbour, and conſiſting of about 4000 houſes,

houſes, muſt make an agreeable proſpect; the ſurrounding ſhore being high, the ſtreets long, and the buildings beautiful. The pavement is kept in ſo good order, that to gallop a horſe on it is 3*s.* 4*d.* forfeit. The number of inhabitants is computed at about 24,000.

There are eight churches, the chief of which is called the Church of England-church; beſides the Baptiſt-meeting, and the Quakers meeting.

The converſation in this town is as polite as in moſt of the cities and towns in England. A gentleman of London would fancy himſelf at home at Boſton, when he obſerves the number of people, their furniture, their tables, and dreſs, which perhaps is as ſplendid and ſhowy as that of moſt tradeſmen in London.

In this city, learning military diſcipline, and waiting for an opportunity of carrying our ſchemes into execution, we lay till the firſt of July; during all which time, great outrages and devaſtations were committed by the ſavages in the back parts of the province. One inſtance of which, in particular, I ſhall relate, as being concerned in rewarding, according to deſert, the wicked authors thereof.

Joſeph Long, Eſq. a gentleman of a large fortune in theſe parts, who had in his time been a great warrior among the Indians, and frequently joined in expeditions with thoſe in our intereſt, againſt the others. His many exploits, and great influence among ſeveral of the nations, were too well known to paſs unrevenged by the ſavages againſt whom he had exerted his abilities. Accordingly, in April 1756, a body of them came down on his plantation, about 30 miles from Boſton, and ſkulking in the woods for ſome time, at laſt ſeized an opportunity to attack his houſe, in which, unhappily proving ſucceſsful, they ſcalped, mangled, and cut to pieces, the unfortunate gentleman, his wife, and nine ſervants; and then made a general conflagra-

tion of his houſe, barns, cattle, and every thing he poſſeſſed, which, with the mangled bodies, were all conſumed in one blaze. But his more unfortunate ſon and daughter were made priſoners, and carried off by them, to be reſerved for greater tortures. Alarmed and terrified at this inhuman butchery, the neighbourhood, as well as the people of Boſton, quickly aſſembled themſelves, to think of proper meaſures to be revenged on theſe execrable monſters. Among the firſt of thoſe who offered themſelves to go againſt the ſavages, was James Crawford, Eſq. who was then at Boſton, and heard of this tragedy; he was a young gentleman who had, for ſome years, paid his addreſſes to Miſs Long, and was in a very little time to have been married to her. Diſtracted, raving, and ſhocked as he was, he loſt no time, but inſtantly raiſed 100 reſolute and bold-young fellows, to go in queſt of the villains. As I had been ſo long among them, and was pretty well acquainted with their manners and cuſtoms, and particularly their ſkulking places in the woods, I was recommended to him as one proper for his expedition; he immediately applied to my officers, and got liberty for me. Never did I go on any enterpriſe with half that alacrity and chearfulneſs I now went with this party. My wrongs and ſufferings were too recent in my memory, to ſuffer me to heſitate a moment in taking an opportunity of being revenged to the utmoſt of my power.

Being quickly armed and provided, we haſtened forward for Mr. Long's plantation on the 29th, and after travelling the moſt remote and intricate paths through the woods, arrived there the 2d of May, dubious of our ſucceſs, and almoſt deſpairing of meeting with the ſavages, as we had heard nor could diſcover nothing of them in our march. In the afternoon, ſome of our men being ſent to the top of a hill to look out for them, ſoon perceived a great

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ſmoke in a part of the low grounds. This we immediately, and rightly conjectured, to proceed from a fire made by them. We accordingly put ourſelves into regular order, and marched forwards, reſolving, let their number have been what it might, to give them battle.

Arriving within a mile of the place, Captain Crawford, whoſe anxiety and pain made him quicker ſighted than any of the reſt, ſoon perceived them, and gueſſed their number to be about 50. Upon this we halted, and ſecreted ourſelves as well as we could, till 12 o'clock at night. At which time, ſuppoſing them to be at reſt, we divided our men into two diviſions, 50 in each, and marched on; when coming within twenty yards of them, the captain fired his gun, which was immediately followed by both diviſions in ſucceſſion, who inſtantly ruſhing on them with bayonets fixed, killed every man of them.

Great as our joy was, and fluſhed with ſucceſs as we were at this ſudden victory, no heart among us but was ready to burſt at the ſight of the unhappy young lady. What muſt the thoughts, torments, and ſenſations of our brave captain then be, if even we, who knew her not, were ſo ſenſibly affected! For, oh! what breaſt, though of the brutal ſavage race we had juſt deſtroyed, could, without feeling the moſt exquiſite grief and pain, behold in ſuch infernal power, a lady in the bloom of youth, bleſt with every female accompliſhment that could ſet off the moſt exquiſite beauty! Beauty, which rendered her the envy of her own ſex, and the delight of ours, enduring the ſeverity of a windy, rainy night! Behold one nurtured in the moſt tender manner, and by the moſt indulgent parents, quite naked, and in the open woods, encircling with her ſlender arms and hands, a cold rough tree, wherein ſhe was bound, with cords ſo ſtraitly pulled, that they [illegible]

trickled from her finger-ends! Her lovely tender body, and delicate limbs, cut, bruiſed, and torn with ſtones, and boughs of trees, as ſhe had been dragged along, and all beſmeared with blood! What heart can even now, unmoved, think of her diſtreſs, in ſuch a deplorable condition; having no creature, with the leaſt ſenſations of humanity, near to ſuccour or relieve her, or even pity or regard her flowing tears, and lamentable wailings!

The very remembrance of the ſight has, at this inſtant, ſuch an effect upon me, that I almoſt want words to go on.—Such then was the condition in which we found this wretched fair, but faint and ſpeechleſs with the ſhock our firing had given her tender frame. The captain, for a long time, could do nothing but gaze upon and claſp her to his boſom, crying, raving, and tearing his hair like one bereft of his ſenſes; nor did he for ſome time perceive the lifeleſs condition ſhe was in, until one of the men had untied her lovely mangled arms, and ſhe fell to the ground. Finding among the villains plunder, the unhappy lady's clothes, he gently put ſome of them about her; and after various trials, and much time ſpent, recovered her diſſipated ſpirits, the repoſſeſſion of which ſhe firſt manifeſted by eagerly fixing her eyes on her dear deliverer, and ſmiling, with the moſt complaiſant joy, bleſſed the Almighty, and him, for her miraculous deliverance.

During this pleaſing, painful interview, our men were buſily employed, in cutting, hacking, and ſcalping the dead Indians; and ſo deſirous was every man to have a ſhare in wreaking his revenge on them, that diſputes happened among ourſelves, who ſhould be the inſtruments of further ſhewing it on their lifeleſs trunks, there not being enough for every man to have one wherewith to ſatiate himſelf: The captain obſerving the animoſity between us, on this occaſion, ordered, that the two diviſions ſhould

caſt lots for this bloody, though agreeable piece of work: which being accordingly done, the party, whoſe lot it was to be excluded from this buſineſs, ſtood by with half-pleaſed countenances, looking on the reſt; who, with the utmoſt chearfulneſs and activity, purſued their revenge, in ſcalping, and otherwiſe treating their dead bodies as the moſt inveterate hatred and deteſtation could ſuggeſt.

The work being done, we thought of ſteering homewards triumphant with the 50 ſcalps; but how to get the lady forwards, who was in ſuch a condition as rendered her incapable of walking further, gave us ſome pain, and retarded us a little, until we made a ſort of carriage to ſeat her on; and then, with the greateſt readineſs, we took our turns, four at a time, and carried her along. This, in ſome meaſure, made the captain chearful, who all the way endeavoured to comfort and revive his deſponding afflicted miſtreſs: but, alas! in vain, for the miſeries ſhe had lately felt, and the terrible fate of her poor brother, of whom I doubt not but the tender-hearted reader is anxious to hear, rendered even her moſt pleaſing thoughts, notwithſtanding his ſoothing words, corroding and inſufferable.

The account ſhe gave of their diſaſtrous fate and dire cataſtrophe, beſides what I have already mentioned, was, that the ſavages had no ſooner ſeen all conſumed, but they hurried off with her and her brother, puſhing, and ſometimes dragging them on, for four or five miles, when they ſtopt; and ſtripping her naked, treated her in a ſhocking manner, whilſt others were ſtripping and cruelly whipping her unhappy brother. After which, they, in the ſame manner, purſued their journey, regardleſs of the tears, prayers, or entreaties of this wretched pair; but with the moſt infernal pleaſure, laughed and rejoiced at the calamities and diſtreſſes they had brought them to, and ſaw them ſuffer, until they

arrived

arrived at the place we found them; where they had that day butchered her beloved brother in the following execrable and cruel manner: They firſt ſcalped him alive, and after mocking his agonizing groans and torments, for ſome hours, ripped open his belly, into which they put ſplinters, and chips of pine-trees, and ſet fire thereto; the ſame (on account of the turpentine wherewith theſe trees abound) burnt with great quickneſs and fury for a little time, during which, he remained in a manner alive, as ſhe could ſometimes perceive him to move his head, and groan. They then piled a great quantity of wood all around his body, and conſumed it to aſhes.

Thus did theſe barbarians put an end to the being of this unhappy young gentleman, who was only 22 years of age when he met his calamitous fate. She continued her relation, by acquainting us, that the next day was to have ſeen her periſh in the like manner, after ſuffering worſe than even ſuch a terrible death, the ſatisfying theſe diabolical miſcreants in their brutal luſt. But it pleaſed the Almighty to permit us to reſcue her, and entirely exſtirpate this crew of devils!

Marching eaſily on her account, we returned to the captain's plantation the 6th of May, where, as well as at Boſton, we were joyfully received, and rewarded handſomely for the ſcalps of thoſe ſavages we had brought with us. Mr. Crawford and Miſs Long were ſoon after married; and, in gratitude to the ſervices we had done them, the whole party were invited to the wedding, and nobly entertained; but no riotous or noiſy mirth was allowed, the young lady, as we may well imagine, being ſtill under great affliction, and in a weak ſtate of health.

Nothing further material, that I now remember, happened during my ſtay at Boſton; to proceed, therefore,

therefore, with the continuation of our intended expedition.

On the 1st of July, the regiment began their march for Oswego. The 21st we arrived at Albany, in New York, through Cambridge, Northampton, and Hadfield, in New England. From thence, marching about twenty miles farther we encamped near the mouth of the Mohawk river, by a town called Schenectady, not far from the Endless Mountains. Here did we lie some time, until batteaux (a sort of flat-bottomed boats, very small, and sharp at both ends) could be got to carry our stores and provisions to Oswego; each of which would contain about six barrels of pork, or in proportion thereto. Two men belonged to every batteaux, who made use of strong scutting poles, with iron at the ends, to prevent their being too soon destroyed by the stones in the river (one of the sources of the Ohio), which abounded with many, and large ones, and in some places was so shallow, that the men were forced to wade and drag their batteaux after them. Which, together with some cataracts, or great falls of water, rendered this duty very hard and fatiguing, not being able to travel more than seven or eight English miles a-day, until they came to the Great carrying place, at Wood's Creek, where the provisions and batteaux were taken out, and carried about four miles to Alliganey, or Ohio great river, that runs quite to Oswego, to which place General Shirley got with part of the forces, on the 8th of August; but Colonel Mercer with the remainder, did not arrive until the 31st. Here we found Colonel Schuyler with his regiment of New Jersey provincials, who had arrived there some time before. A short description of a place which has afforded so much occasion for animadversion, may not here be altogether disagreeable to those unacquainted with our settlements in that part of the world.

Oswego

Oſwego is ſituated N. lat. 43 deg. 20 min. near the mouth of the river Onondago, on the ſouth ſide of the lake Ontario, or Cataraquie. There was generally a fort and conſtant garriſon of regular troops kept before our arrival. In the proper ſeaſons, a fair for the Indian trade is kept here: Indians of above twenty different nations have been obſerved here at a time. The greateſt part of the trade between Canada and the Indians of the Great Lakes, and ſome parts of the Miſſiſſippi, paſs near this fort; the neareſt and ſafeſt way of carrying goods upon this lake being along the ſouth ſide of it. The diſtance from Albany to Oſwego fort is about 300 miles weſt; to render which march more comfortable, we met with many good farms and ſettlements by the way. The Outawaes, a great and powerful nation, living upon the Outawae river, which joins the Catarique river (the out-let of the great lake), deal conſiderably with the New-York trading houſes here.

The different nations trading to Oſwego are diſtinguiſhable by the variety and different faſhions of their canoes; the very remote Indians are clothed in skins of various ſorts, and have all fire-arms; ſome come ſo far north as Port Nelſon in Hudſon's Bay, N. lat. 57 deg. and ſome from the Cherokees weſt of South Carolina, in N. lat. 32 deg. This ſeems indeed to be a vaſt extent of inland water carriage, but it is only for canoes and the ſmalleſt of craft.

Nor will it in this place be improper to give ſome account of our friends in thoſe parts, whom we call the Mohawks, *viz.* The Iroquois, commonly called the Mohawks, the Oneiadaes, the Onondagues, the Cayugaes, and the Senekaes. In all accounts they are lately called the Six nations of the New York Friendly Indians; the Tuſcararoes, ſtragglers from the old Tuſcararoes of North Carolina, lately are reckoned as the ſixth.——I ſhall here reckon them

as I have been informed they were formerly. 1. The Mohawks: they live upon the Mohawk's or Schenectady river, and head, or lie north of New York, Penfylvania, Maryland, and fome part of Virginia; having a caftle or village, weftward from Albany 40 miles, and another 65 miles weft, and about 160 fencible men. 2. The Oneiadaes, about 80 miles from the Mohawk's fecond village, confifting of about 200 fighting men. 3. The Onondagues, about 25 miles further (the famous Ofwego, a trading place on the lake Ontario, is in their country), confifting of about 250 men. 4. The Cayuages, about 70 miles further, of about 130 men: And, 5. The Senekaes, who reach a great way down the river Sufquehana, confift of about 700 marching, fighting men: fo that the fighting men of the five or fix nations of Mohawks may be reckoned at 1500 men, and extend from Albany, weft 400 miles, lying in about 30 tribes or governments. Befides thefe, there is fettled above Montreal, which lies N. E. of Ofwego, a tribe of fcoundrels, runaways from the Mohawks: they are called Kahnuages, confifting of about eighty men.—This fhort account of thefe nations I think neceffary to make the Engliſh reader acquainted with, as I may have occafion to mention things concerning fome of them.

It may not be improper here alfo, to give a fuccinct detail of the education, manners, religion, &c. of the natives. The Indians are born tolerably white; but they take a great deal of pains to darken their complexion, by anointing themfelves with greafe, and lying in the fun. Their features are good, efpecially thofe of the women. Their limbs clean, ftraight, and well proportioned, and a crooked and deformed perfon is a great rarity among them. They are very ingenious in their way, being neither fo ignorant nor fo innocent, as fome people ima-

gine: On the contrary, a very underſtanding generation are they, quick of apprehenſion, ſudden in diſpatch, ſubtle in their dealings, exquiſite in their inventions, and in labour aſſiduous: The world has no better markſmen with guns, or bows and arrows, than the natives, who can kill birds flying, fiſhes ſwimming, and wild beaſts running; nay, with ſuch prodigious force do they diſcharge their arrows, that one of them will ſhoot a man quite through, and nail both his arms to his body with the ſame arrow.

As to their religion, in order to reconcile the different accounts exhibited by travellers, we muſt ſuppoſe that different tribes may have different notions, and different rites: and though I do not think myſelf capable of determining the caſe with the preciſion and accuracy I could wiſh; yet, with what I have collected from my own obſervation when among them, and the information of my brother-captives, who have been longer converſant with the Indians than I was, I ſhall readily give the public all the ſatisfaction I can.

Some aſſure us the Indians worſhip the images of ſome inferior deities, whoſe anger they ſeem to dread; on which account the generality of our travellers denominate the objects of their devotion, devils; though at the ſame time it is allowed they pray to their inferior deities for ſucceſs in all their undertakings, for plenty of food, and other neceſſaries of life. It appears too, that they acknowledge one Supreme Being; but him they adore not, becauſe they believe he is too far exalted above them, and too happy in himſelf, to be concerned about the trifling affairs of poor mortals. They ſeem alſo to believe a future ſtate; and that, after death, they will be removed to their friends who have gone before them, to an Elyſium or Paradiſe beyond the Weſtern Mountains: others again, allow them either no re-

ligion

ligion at all, or, at moſt, very faint ideas of a deity; but all agree that they are extravagantly ſuperſtitious, and exceedingly afraid of evil ſpirits. To theſe demons they make oblations every new moon for the ſpace of ſeven days; during which time, they caſt lots, and ſacrifice one of themſelves, putting the perſon devoted to the moſt exquiſite miſery they can invent, in order to ſatisfy the devil for that moon; for they think if they pleaſe but the evil ſpirit, God will do them no hurt.

Certain however it is, that thoſe Indians, whom the French prieſts have had an opportunity of miniſtering unto, are induced to believe, "That the "Son of God came into the world to ſave all "mankind, and deſtroy all evil ſpirits that now "trouble them; that the Engliſh have killed him; "and that ever ſince, the evil ſpirits are permitted "to walk on the earth: that if the Engliſh were "all deſtroyed, the Son of the Good Man, who is "God, would come again, and baniſh all evil ſpi"rits from their lands, and then they would have "nothing to fear or diſturb them." Cajoled by theſe falſe but artful inſinuations of the French Jeſuits, the Indians from that time, have endeavoured to maſſacre all the Engliſh, in order that the Son of God might come again on the earth, and rid them from their ſlaviſh fears and terrible apprehenſions, by exterminating the objects thereof.

Being now at Oſwego, the principal object that gave at that time any concern to the Americans, I ſhall, before I continue my own account, give a ſhort recital of what had been done in theſe parts, in regard to the defence and preſervation of the fort and the colonies thereabouts, before I came, upon ſuch authorities as I got from thoſe who had been long at Oſwego, and I can well depend upon for truth.

General Shirley, in 1754, having erected two new forts on the river Onondaga, it seemed probable, that he intended to winter at Oswego with his army, that he might the more readily proceed to action in the ensuing spring. What produced his inactivity afterwards, and how it was, that fort Oswego was not taken by the French in the spring 1755, are things my penetration will not enable me to discuss. But Oswego is now lost, and would have been so in the spring of 1755, if more important affairs had not made the French neglect it. At this time the garrison of Oswego consisted only of 100 men, under Captain King. The old fort being their only protection, which mounted only eight four pounders, was incapable of defence, because it was commanded by an eminence directly cross a narrow river, the banks of which were covered with thick wood.

In May 1755, Oswego being in this condition, and thus garrisoned; thirty French batteaux were seen to pass, and two days after, eleven more; each batteau (being much larger than ours) containing fifteen men; so this fleet consisted of near 600 men: A force, which, with a single mortar, might soon have taken possession of the place.

A resolution was now taken to make the fort larger, and erect some new ones; to build vessels upon the lake; to increase the garrison; and provide every thing necessary to annoy the enemy, so as they might render the place tenable. Captain Broadstreet arriving on the 27th of May at the fort, with two companies, some small swivel-guns, and the first parcel of workmen, made some imagine that a stop would be put to the French in their carrying men in sight of the garrison; yet they still permitted eleven more French batteaux to pass by, though we were then superior to them in these boats, or at least in number. The reason our forces

could

could not attack them, was, becauſe they were four miles in the offing, on board large veſſels, in which the ſoldiers could ſtand to fire without being overſet; and our batteaux, in which we muſt have attacked them, were ſo ſmall, that they would contain only ſix men each, and ſo tickliſh, that the inadvertent motion of one man would overſet them. No care, however, was taken to provide larger boats againſt another emergency of the ſame kind. At Oſwego, indeed, it was impracticable for want of *iron work*; ſuch being the provident forecaſt of thoſe who had the management of affairs, that though there were ſmiths enough, yet there was, at this place, but one pair of bellows, ſo that the firſt accident that ſhould happen to that neceſſary inſtrument, would ſtop all the operations of the forge at once.

The beginning of June, the ſhip-carpenters arrived from Boſton, and on the 28th of the ſame month, the firſt veſſel we ever had on the lake Ontario was launched and fitted out: She was a ſchooner, 40 feet in the keel, had 14 oars, and 12 ſwivel-guns. This veſſel, and 320 men, was all the force we had at Oſwego, the beginning of July, and was victualled at the expence of the province of New-York. Happy indeed it was, that the colony proviſions were there; for ſo little care had been taken to get the king's proviſions ſent up, that, when we arrived, we muſt have periſhed with famine, had not we found a ſupply, which we had little reaſon to expect.

About the middle of July, an attack was again expected, when we (the forces under General Shirley) were ſtill near 300 miles diſtant. And, if the attack had then been made, with the force the enemy was known to have had at hand, it muſt, for the reaſon I have juſt before given, have fallen into their poſſeſſion.

Such was the ſtate of Oſwego, when we arrived there: Where we had been but a ſmall time before proviſions began to be very ſcarce; and the King's allowance being ſtill delayed, the provincial ſtores were ſoon exhauſted, and we were in danger of being ſoon famiſhed, being on leſs than half allowance. The men being likewiſe worn out, and fatigued with the long march they had ſuffered, and being without rum (or allowed none at leaſt), and other proper nutriment, many fell ſick of the flux, and died; ſo that our regiment was greatly reduced in ſix weeks time: A party that we left at the important carrying place, at Wood's Creek, being abſolutely obliged to deſert it for want of neceſſaries.

Sickneſs, death, and deſertion, had at length ſo far reduced us, that we had ſcarce men enough to perform duty, and protect thoſe that were daily at work. The Indians keeping a ſtrict look-out, rendered every one who paſſed the out-guards, or centinels, in danger of being ſcalped or murdered. To prevent conſequences like theſe, a captain's guard of ſixty men, with two lieutenants, two ſerjeants, two corporals, and one drum, beſides two flank-guards of a ſerjeant, corporal, and twelve men in each, were daily mounted, and did duty as well as able. Scouting parties were likewiſe ſent out every day; but the ſickneſs ſtill continuing, and having 300 men at work, we were obliged to leſſen our guards, till General Pepperel's regiment joined us.

A little diligence being now made uſe of, about the middle of September, four other veſſels were got ready, *viz.* a decked ſloop of eight guns, four pounders, and 30 ſwivels; a decked ſchooner, eight guns, four pounders, and twenty-eight ſwivels; one undecked ſchooner of fourteen ſwivels, and fourteen oars, and another of twelve ſwivels, and fourteen oars; about 150 tons each.

On

On the 24th of October, with this armament, and a conſiderable number of batteaux, which were too ſmall to live upon the lake in moderate weather, we were preparing to attack Niagara; though (notwithſtanding we had taken all the proviſions we could find in Oſwego, and had left the garriſon behind, with ſcarce enough for three days) the fleet had not proviſions ſufficient on board, to carry them within ſight of the enemy, and ſupplies were not to be got, within 300 miles of the place we were going againſt. However, the impracticability of ſucceeding in an expedition, undertaken without victuals, was diſcovered time enough to prevent our march, or embarkation, or whatever it may be called; but not before nine batteaux, laden with officers baggage, were ſent forwards, four men in each batteau; in one of which it was my lot to be. The men being weak, and in low ſpirits, with continual haraſſing and low feeding, rendered our progreſs very tedious and difficult; add to this the places we had to paſs and aſcend; for, in many parts, the catara[illegible], or falls of water, which deſcended near the head of the river Onondaga (in ſome places near 100 feet perpendicular), rendered it almoſt impoſſible for us to proceed; for the current running from the bottom, was ſo rapid, that the efforts of twenty or thirty men were ſometimes required to drag the boats along, and eſpecially to get them up the hills or cataracts, which we were forced to do with ropes: Sometimes, when, with great labour and difficulty, we had got them up, we carried them by land near a quarter of a mile, before we came to any water. In ſhort, we found four men to a batteau inſufficient; for the men belonging to one batteau were ſo fatigued and worn out, that they could not manage her, ſo that ſhe lay behind almoſt a league.

The

The captain that was with us, obſerving this, as ſoon as we had got the others over the moſt difficult falls, ordered two beſides myſelf to go and help her forwards. Accordingly I got into her, in order to ſteer her, whilſt my two comrades and her own crew dragged her along. When we got to any cataracts, I remained in her to faſten the ropes, and keep all ſafe, whilſt they hauled her up; but drawing her to the ſummit of the laſt cataract, the ropes gave way, and down ſhe fell into a very rapid and boiſterous ſtream; where, not being able by myſelf to work her, ſhe ſtove to pieces on a ſmall rock, on which ſome part of her remaining till morning, I miraculouſly ſaved myſelf. Never was my life in greater danger than in this ſituation; the night being quite dark, and no aſſiſtance to be obtained from any of my comrades; though many of them, as I afterwards learned, made diligent ſearch for me; but the fall of the water rendered the noiſe that they, as well as myſelf, made, to be heard by one another, quite ineffectual.

In the morning they, indeed, found me, but in a wretched condition, quite benumbed, and almoſt dead with cold, having nothing on but my ſhirt.

After various efforts, having with great difficulty got me up, they uſed all proper means to recover my worn-out ſpirits; but the fire had a fatal effect to what they intended, for my fleſh ſwelled all over my body and limbs, and cauſed ſuch a deprivation of my ſenſes, that I fainted, and was thought by all to be dead. However, after ſome time, they pretty well recovered my ſcattered ſenſes, and fatigued body, and with proper care conducted me, with ſome others (who were weak and ill of the flux), to Albany, where the hoſpital received our poor debilitated bodies.

The

The reſt, not able to proceed, or being countermanded, beut their courſe back again to Oſwego; where, a friendly ſtorm preventing an embarkation, when a ſtock of proviſions was got together (ſufficient to prevent them from eating one another, during the firſt twelve days), all thoughts of attacking Niagara were laid aſide.

Thus ended this formidable campaign. The veſſels that we had built (as I afterwards learned) were unrigged and laid up, without having been put to any uſe; while a French veſſel was cruiſing on the Lake, and carrying ſupplies to Niagara, without interruption; five others, as large as ours, being alſo ready to launch at Frontenac, which lies acroſs the lake Ontario, north of Oſwego.

The General, whatever appearances might have led others, as well as myſelf, to think otherwiſe, ſoon indicated his intention of not wintering at Oſwego; for he left the place before the additional works were completed, and the garriſon, by inſenſible degrees, decreaſed; the 1100 men ſtill living in perpetual terror, on the brink of famine, and become mutinous for want of their pay; which, in the *hurry of military buſineſs*, during a year that was crowned with great events, had been forgotten: for, from my firſt inliſting, to the time I was laid up at Albany, I never had received above ſix weeks pay.

A little, indeed, may be offered in vindication of the General, in regard to the numberleſs delays of this campaign; *viz.* That it took ſome time to raiſe the two regiments which were in Britiſh pay, as the name of inliſting for life is ſomewhat forbidding to the Americans (a few of whom, as well as myſelf, made our agreement for three years; but after that time, I doubt, we muſt have depended on his pleaſure for our being diſcharged, according to our contract, had it not fallen out otherwiſe). The unuſual

unuſual dryneſs of the ſummer rendered the river down to Oſwego in ſome places impaſſable, or very difficult for the batteaux to proceed; and it was whiſpered, that a gentleman, lately in an eminent ſtation in New York, did all in his power to hinder the undertaking, from a pique to the General. By theſe diſadvantages, he was detained at Albany till Auguſt; and even when he did reach Oſwego, he found himſelf put to no little difficulty to maintain his ground for want of proviſions: and the men being ſo reduced, more than once, to ſhort allowance, as you have ſeen, became troubled with the flux, and had not any thing neceſſary; not even rum ſufficient for the common men, to prevent the fatal effects of that diſorder.

In this manner the ſummer was ſpent on our ſide; and the reaſon why the French did not this year take Oſwego, when they might, with ſo little trouble, was, as many beſide myſelf conjectured, that they thought it more their intereſt, to purſue their projects on the Ohio, and preſerve the friendſhip of the confidential Indians; which an attack upon Oſwego, at that time, would have deſtroyed.

How far they ſucceeded in ſuch their projects, and the reaſon of their ſucceſſes, a little animadverſion on our own tranſactions will let us into the light of. For, as appearances on our ſide were very favourable in the ſpring; General Braddock's defeat greatly increaſed the gloom, which ſat on the countenances of the Americans.

Great things being expected from him, he arrived early in the ſpring at Virginia, with a conſiderable land-force; and Fort du Queſne ſeemed to be ours, if we did but go and demand it. The attacks deſigned againſt Niagara, and Fort Frederick, at Crown Point, were planned in the winter, and the troops employed againſt the French in Nova Scotia, embarked at Boſton in April. Let us view the events,

events, beſides thoſe already mentioned. General Braddock was ready to march in April. But through ignorance or neglect, or a miſunderſtanding with the governor of Virginia, had neither freſh proviſions, horſes, nor waggons provided; and ſo late as the latter end of May, it was neceſſary to apply to Penſylvania, for the moſt part of thoſe. This neglect created a moſt pernicious diffidence and diſcredit of the Americans, in the mind of the General, and prevented their uſefulneſs, where their advice was wanted, and produced very bad effects. He was a man (as it is now too well known and believed) by no means of quick apprehenſion, and could not conceive that ſuch a people could inſtruct him; and his young counſellors prejudiced him ſtill more, ſo as to ſlight his officers, and what was worſe, his enemy; as it was treated as an abſurdity to ſuppoſe the Indians would ever attack regulars: And, of courſe, no care was taken to inſtruct the men, to reſiſt their peculiar manner of fighting. Had this circumſtance been attended to, I am fully perſuaded 400 Indians, about the number that defeated him, would have given him very little annoyance: Sure I am, 400 of our people, rightly managed, would have made no difficulty of driving before them four times that handful, to whom he owed his defeat and death.

The undertaking of the eaſtern provinces, to reduce the fort at Crown Point, met that fate which the jarring councils of a divided people commonly meet with; for though the plan was concerted in the winter of 1754, it was Auguſt before theſe petty governments could bring together their troops. In ſhort, it muſt be owned by all, that delays were the banes of our undertakings, except in the Bay of Fundi, in Nova Scotia, where ſecrecy and expedition were rewarded with ſucceſs, and that province reduced.

The

The General continued inactive, from the time he left Oſwego, to March 1756, when he was about to reſume the execution of his ſcheme to attack Frontenac and Niagara. What would have been the iſſue of this project, neither myſelf, nor any other perſon, can now pretend to ſay, for, juſt at this criſis, he received orders from England to attempt nothing, till Lord Louden ſhould arrive, which was ſaid ſhould be early in the ſpring. However, his Lordſhip did not get there until the middle of July, ſo that by this delay, time was given to the Marquis de Montcalm (Major General Dieſkau's ſucceſſor) to arrive from France at Canada with 3000 regular forces, and take the field before us.

But to return from this digreſſion to other tranſactions. When I was pretty well recovered again, I embarked on board a veſſel from Albany for New York; where, when I arrived, I found to my ſorrow, Captain John Shirley, the General's ſon, had been dead for ſome time. He was a very promiſing, worthy, young gentleman, and univerſally regretted. His company was given to Major James Kinnair, who ordered, that none of his men ſhould go out on the recruiting parties, as was at firſt intended by his predeceſſor; but that the private men ſhould either return to Oſwego, or do duty in the fort at New York. Not liking my ſtation here, I entreated the General, who was now arrived, for a furlough, to ſee my friends at Penſylvania, which he having then no great occaſion for me at New York, granted for three months.

As I have here mentioned New York, and before given a ſhort account of the two cities, Philadelphia and Boſton, it would be a diſreſpect ſhown to this elegant one not to take notice of it, as well as, in ſome meaſure, debarring the reader from ſuch information as may not be diſagreeable; but not being

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of that note or consequence with the others, I shall briefly observe; that

New York is a very fine city, and the capital of the province of that name; it contains about 3000 houses, and near 9000 inhabitants. The houses are all well built, and the meanest of them said to be worth 100 *l.* Sterling, which cannot be said of the city of the same name, nor of any other in England. Their conversation is polite, and their furniture, dress, and manner of living, quite elegant. In drinking and gallantry they exceed any city in America.

The great church is a very handsome edifice, and built in 1695. Here is also a Dutch church, a French church, and a Lutheran church. The inhabitants of Dutch extraction make a considerable part of the town, and most of them speak English.

Having obtained my furlough, I immediately set out for Pensylvania, and arriving at Philadelphia, found the consternation and terror of the inhabitants was greatly increased to what it was when I left them. They had made several treaties of friendship with the Indians, who, when well supplied with arms, ammunition, clothes, and other necessaries, through the pacific measures, and defenceless state of the Philadelphians, soon revolted to the French, and committed great outrages on the back parts of the province, destroying and massacring men, women, and children, and every thing that unhappily lay in their way.

A few instances of which, together with the behaviour of the Philadelphians on these occasions, I shall here present the reader with, who, of whatever sect or profession, I am well assured, must condemn the pacific disposition, and private factions that then reigned, not only in the a——y, but among the magistrates themselves, who were a long time before they could agree on proper petitions,

to rouse the assembly from the lethargic and inactive condition they absolutely remained in.

For, about the middle of October, a large body of Indians, chiefly Shawonoese, Delawares, &c. fell upon this province from several quarters, almost at the same instant, murdering, burning, and laying waste all wherever they came; so that in the five counties of Cumberland, York, Lancaster, Berks, and Northampton, which compose more than half the province, nothing but scenes of destruction and desolation were to be seen.

The damages which these counties had sustained by the desertion of plantations, is not to be reckoned up, nor are the miseries of the poor inhabitants to be described; many of whom, though escaping with life, were, without a moment's warning, driven from these habitations, where they enjoyed every necessary of life, and were then exposed to all the severity of an hard winter, and obliged to solicit their very bread at the cold hand of charity, or perish with hunger, under the inclement air.

To these barbarities I have already mentioned, I cannot pass over the following, as introductory causes of the Philadelphians at last withstanding the outrages of the barbarians.

At Gnadenhutten, a small Moravian settlement in Northampton county, the poor unhappy sufferers were sitting round their peaceful supper, when the inhuman murderers, muffled in the shades of night, dark and horrid as the infernal purposes of their diabolic souls, stole upon them, butchered, scalped them, and consumed their bodies, together with their horses, stock, and upwards of sixty head of fat cattle (intended for the subsistence of the brethren at Bethlehem), all in one general flame; so that next morning furnished only a melancholy spectacle of their mingled ashes.

At

At the Great Cove in Cumberland at Tulpehockin, in Berks, and in ſeveral other places, their barbarities were ſtill greater, if poſſible. Men, women, children, and brute beaſts, ſhared one common deſtruction; and where they were not burnt to aſhes, their mangled limbs were found promiſcuouſly ſtrewed upon the ground; thoſe appertaining to the human form ſcarce to be diſtinguiſhed from the brute!

But, of all the inſtances of the barbarities I heard of in theſe parts, I could not help being moſt affected with the following: One family, conſiſting of the huſband, his wife, and a child only a few hours old, were all found murdered and ſcalped in this manner: The mother ſtretched on the bed, with her new-born child horribly mangled and put under her head for a pillow, while the huſband lay on the ground hard by, with his belly ript up, and his bowels laid open.

In another place, a woman, with her ſucking child, finding that ſhe had fallen into the hands of the enemy, fell flat on her face, prompted by the ſtrong call of nature, to cover and ſhelter her innocent child with her own body. The accurſed ſavage ruſhed from his lurking place, ſtruck her on the head with his tomahawk, tore off her ſcalp, and ſcoured back into the woods, without obſerving the child, being apprehenſive that he was diſcovered.—The child was found ſome time afterwards under the body of its mother, and was then alive.

Many of their young women were carried by the ſavages into captivity, reſerved perhaps for a worſe fate than thoſe who ſuffered death in all its horrid ſhapes; and no wonder, ſince they were reſerved by ſavages, whoſe tender mercies might be counted more cruel than their very cruelty itſelf.

Yet even during all this time, this province (had things been properly ordered) need but, in compari-

ſon to her ſtrength, have lifted her foot and cruſhed all the French force on their borders; but unuſed to ſuch undertakings, and bound by *non-reſiſting principles* from exerting her ſtrength, and involved in diſputes with the proprietors, they ſtood ſtill, vainly hoping the French would be ſo moderate as to be content with their victory over Braddock, or at leaſt confine their attacks to Virginia: But they then ſaw and felt all this was deluſion, and the barbarities of the Indian parties headed by French officers: Notwithſtanding all which, they continued in domeſtic debates, without a ſoldier in pay, or a penny in the treaſury. In ſhort, if the enemy had then had but 1500 men at the Ohio, and would have attempted it, no raſhneſs could have been perceived in their marching down to the city of Philadelphia.

Thus ſtood our affairs on the ſide of the Ohio, when an old captain of the warriors, in the intereſt of the Philadelphians, and their ever faithful friend, whoſe name was Scarooyada, alias Monokatoathy, on the firſt notice of theſe misfortunes, came haſtening to Philadelphia, together with Colonel Weiſer, the provincial interpreter, and two other Indian chiefs. Scarooyada immediately demanded an audience of the aſſembly, who were then ſitting, to whom he ſpoke in a very affecting manner. His ſpeeches being printed, and ſold about Philadelphia, I procured one of them, which was as follows:

'BRETHREN,

'We are once more come among you, and ſincerely condole with you on account of the late 'bloodſhed, and the awful cloud that hangs over 'you, and over us. Brethren, you may be undoubtedly aſſured, that theſe horrid actions were 'committed by none of thoſe nations that have any 'fellowſhip with us, but by certain falſe-hearted 'and treacherous brethren. It grieves us more

'than

'than all our other misfortunes, that any of our 'good friends, the English, should suspect us of hav- 'ing false hearts.

'BRETHREN,

'If you were not an infatuated people, we are '300 warriors firm to your interest; and, if you 'are so unjust to us, as to retain any doubts of our 'sincerity, we offer to put our wives, our children, 'and all we have into your hands, to deal with them 'as seemeth good to you, if we are found in the 'least to swerve from you. But, brethren, you 'must support and assist us, for we are not able to 'fight alone against the powerful nations who are 'coming against you; and you must this moment 'resolve, and give us an explicit answer what you 'will do: For these nations have sent to desire us, 'as old friends, either to join them, or get out of 'their way, and shift for ourselves. Alas! bre- 'thren, we are sorry to leave you! We remember 'the many tokens of your friendship to us: But 'what shall we do? We cannot stand alone, and 'you will not stand with us!——

'BRETHREN,

'The time is precious. While we are here con- 'sulting with you, we know not what may be the 'fate of our brethren at home. We do therefore 'once more invite and request you to act like men, 'and be no longer as women, pursuing weak mea- 'sures that render your names despicable. If you 'will put the hatchet * into your hands, and send 'out a number of your young men in conjunction 'with our warriors, and provide the necessary 'arms, ammunition, and provisions, and likewise 'build some strong houses for the protection of

* See the Note under Tomahawk, p. 17.

'our old men, women, and children, while we are 'absent in war, we shall soon wipe the tears from 'your eyes, and make these false-hearted brethren 'repent their treachery and baseness towards you, 'and towards us.

'But we must at the same time solemnly assure 'you, that if you delay any longer to act in con- 'junction with us, or think to put us off, as usual, 'with uncertain hopes, you must not expect to see 'our faces under this roof any more. We must 'shift for our own safety, and leave you to the 'mercy of our enemies, as an infatuated people, 'upon whom we can have no longer depend- 'ence.'

The tears stood in the old man's eyes, while he delivered this last part; and no wonder, since the very being of his nation depended upon their joining the enemy, or our enabling them immediately to make head against them.

It was some time, however, before the assembly could be brought to consent to any vigorous measures for their own defence. The back inhabitants lost all patience at their conduct. Until at length, the Governor exerted his utmost power, and procured the militia and money bills to pass. By virtue of the former, the freemen of the province were enabled to form themselves into companies, and each company, by a majority of votes, by way of ballot, to chuse its own officers, *viz.* a captain, lieutenant, and ensign; who, if approved of, were to be commissioned by the Governor. So that the Philadelphians were at last permitted to raise and arm themselves in their own defence. They accordingly formed themselves into companies: the Governor signing to all gentlemen qualified, who had been regularly ballotted, commissions for that purpose.

Captain Davis was one of the first who had a company, and, being desirous of my service, in order to instruct the irregulars in their discipline, obtained from the governor a certificate to indemnify me from any punishment which might be adjudged by the regiment to which I already belonged; for without that, I had not gone. Our company, which consisted of 100 men, was not completed until the 24th of December 1755; when, losing no time, we next morning marched from Philadelphia in high spirits; resolving to shew as little quarter to the savages as they had to many of us.

Colonel Armstrong had been more expeditious, for he had raised 280 provincial irregulars, and marched a little time before against the Ohio Morians; but of him more hereafter.

We arrived the 26th of December at Bethlehem, in the forks of the river Delaware, where, being kindly received by the Moravians, we loaded six waggons with provisions, and proceeded on to the Appalachian Mountains, or Blue Hills, to a town called Kennorton-head, which the Moravians had deserted on account of the Indians. Fifty of our men, of whom I made one, were ordered before the rest, to see whether the town was destroyed or not. Disposing them to the best advantage, we marched on till we came within five miles of the place, which we found standing entire.

Having a very uneven, rugged road to it, and not above four men able to go a-breast, we were on a sudden alarmed by the firing of the flank-guards, which were a little in the rear of our van. The savages briskly returned their fire, and killed the ensign and ten of the men, and wounded several others.

Finding this, I being chief in command (having acted as lieutenant, and received pay as such from my first entrance, for my trouble and duty in learning

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ing in the company) ordered the men to march on with all expedition to the town, and all the way to keep a running fire on the enemy, as they had fallen on our rear.

We would have got there in very good order, had it not been for a river we had to crofs, and the weather being fo exceffively cold, our clothes froze to our bodies as foon as we got out of the water. However, with great difficulty we reached the town, and got into the church with the lofs of 27 men. There we made as good preparations for our defence as poffibly we could, making a great fire of the benches, feats, and what we could find therein, to dry our clothes; not efteeming it the leaft facrilege or crime, upon fuch an emergency.

The Indians foon followed us into the town, and furrounding us, tried all methods to burn the church, but our continual firing kept them off for about fix hours, until our powder and ball were all expended. In the night they fet feveral houfes on fire; and we, dreading the confequences of being detained there, refolved to make one bold effort, and puth ourfelves through the favage forces, which was accordingly done with the moft undaunted courage. The enemy fired continually on us during our retreat, and killed many of our men, but in their confufion many of themfelves alfo; it being fo very dark that we were not able to difcern our own party; fo that only five of us kept together, and got into the woods; the reft, whom we left behind, I doubt, fell facrifices to the favages.

The night being fo exceffive cold, and having but few clothes with us out of the church, two of my comrades froze to death, before we could reach any inhabited place. In fhort, we did not get any relief till four o'clock in the morning, when we arrived at a houfe that lay in the gap of the Blue Hills;

Hills; where our captain had arrived with the remainder of the men and waggons the day before.

The captain inquiring our ſucceſs, I gave him the melancholy detail of our unfortunate expedition: upon which an expreſs was immediately ſent to the governor with the account, who ordered 1600 men to march the next morning for the ſame place, under the command of General Franklin, not only to bury the dead, and build a fort there, but to extirpate the ſavages who infeſted theſe parts, and were too powerful for our ſmall number under Captain Davis.

The remainder of our little party were now building a fort at the place where we lay for our defence, until more aſſiſtance ſhould arrive; for we were under continual apprehenſions of the Indians purſuing and attacking us again.

On the 9th of January 1756, we were reinforced by General Franklin and his body; and the next day ſet out again for Kennorton-head; where, when we arrived, to our great conſternation, we found little occaſion to bury our unhappy comrades, the ſwine (which in that country are vaſtly numerous in the woods) having devoured their bodies, and nothing but bones ſtrewed up and down were to be ſeen. We there built a fort in the place where the old church had ſtood, and gave it the name of Fort Allen; this was finiſhed in ſix days, and in ſo good a manner, that 100 men would make great reſiſtance againſt a much greater number of Indians.

On the 18th, 1400 of us were ordered about fifteen miles diſtant from thence, on the frontiers of the province; where we built another fort called Fort Norris. In our way thither we found ſix men ſcalped and murdered in a moſt cruel manner. By what we could diſcern, they had made a vigorous defence, the barrels and ſtocks of their guns being broke

broke to pieces, and themſelves cut and mangled in a terrible manner.

From thence we were ordered to march towards a place called the Minniſinks, but this journey proved longer than we were aware of. The Indians committing great outrages in theſe parts, having burnt and deſtroyed all the houſes, &c. in our way: Theſe tragic actions cauſed us to divide ourſelves into ſeveral parties, who were ordered divers ways, to cut off as many of theſe ſavages as poſſible.

The day after this ſcheme was put into execution, we met with a ſmall party, which we put to the rout, killing fourteen of them. We then made all poſſible diſpatch to ſave ſome houſes we ſaw on fire, but on our nearer approach found our endeavour in vain: John Swiſher and his family having been before ſcalped, and burnt to aſhes in his own houſe. On the following night the houſe of James Wallis underwent the ſame fate; himſelf, wife, ſeven children, and the reſt of his family, being ſcalped, and burnt therein. The houſes and families of Philip Green and Abraham Nairn ſuffered in the like manner. Nor did the cruelty of theſe barbarians ſtop here, but attacked the dwelling-houſe of George Hunter, Eſq. a gentleman of conſiderable worth, and a juſtice of the peace, who made a brave reſiſtance, and rather than fall into the hands of theſe miſcreants, choſe to meet death in the flames; which he, his wife, and all his houſehold, conſiſting of ſixteen in number, did with the utmoſt bravery, before any aſſiſtance could be received from our General, who had diſpatched 500 of us for that purpoſe, on an expreſs being ſent to him that morning.

From thence we marched to the Minniſinks, and built Fort Norris. On the 9th of March we ſet out with 1000 men to the head of the Minniſinks, and

built

built another fort, which we named Franklin, in honour of our General. All which forts were garrisoned with as many men as we could possibly spare.

After this we were daily employed in scouring the woods, from fort to fort, of these noxious creatures, the Indians, and in getting as much of the corn together as we could find, to prevent savages from having any benefit therefrom.

Notwithstanding our vigilance, these villains, on the 15th, attacked the house of James Graham, but by providence he, with his wife, who had just lain in, and the young infant in her arms (with nothing about her but her shift) made their escape to Fort Allen, about fifteen miles distant. The child perished by the way, and it was matter of wonder to the whole garrison to find either of them alive; indeed they were in a deplorable condition, and we imagined they would expire every moment. The wife however, to our great astonishment, recovered, but the husband did not survive above six hours after their arrival.

The house of Isaac Cook suffered by the flames; himself, his wife, and eight children, being scalped and burnt in it.

Tedious and shocking would it be to enumerate half the murders, conflagrations, and outrages, committed by these hellish infidels; let it suffice therefore, that from the year 1753, when they first began their barbarities, they had murdered, burnt, scalped, and destroyed, above 3500; above 1000 whereof were unhappy inhabitants of the western part of Philadelphia. Men, women, and children, fell alike a prey to the savages: No regard being had by them to the tender entreaties of an affectionate parent for a beloved child, or the infant's prayers in behalf of his aged father and mother. Such are the miserable calamities attendant on schemes for gratifying the ambition of a tyrannic monarch

monarch like France, or the weak contrivances and indolent measures of blundering ministers and negociators.

The time of my furlough at length expiring, I prepared to set out for my regiment. Having a recommendatory letter from General Franklin to Major Kinnair, as to my services, I marched forward for New York: Where being arrived, I waited on the Major, he being a worthy gentleman, universally beloved by the whole regiment; and after giving him an account of all our transactions, and the hardships and labours we had gone through, I was dismissed.

After some stay there, I was ordered to proceed on my march for Oswego once more. But, before I go further with my affairs, I shall just recount the result of those provincials, who went, as I mentioned before, to quell the savages, under the command of Colonel Armstrong.

He having under his command 280 provincials, destined against the Ohio Morians, against whom nothing had been attempted, notwithstanding their frequent incursions and murders, penetrated 140 miles through the woods, from Fort Shirley on Juniata river, to Kittanning an Indian town, on the Ohio, about 25 miles above Fort du Quesne, belonging to the French. He soon joined the advanced party at the Beaver-dams; and, on the fourth evening after, being within six miles of Kittanning, the scouts discovered a fire in the road, and reported that there were but three or four Indians at it. At that time it was not thought proper to attempt surprising these Indians, lest, if one should escape, the town might be alarmed: Lieutenant Hogg, therefore, with twelve men, was left to watch them, with orders not to fall upon them until day-break; and our forces turned out of the path, to pass their fire, without disturbing them.

About

About three in the morning, having been guided by the whooping of the Indian warriors, at a dance in the town, they reached the river at about 100 perches below it. As ſoon as day appeared, the attack began. Captain Jacobs, chief of the Indians, gave the war-whoop, and defended his houſe bravely through the loop-holes in the logs. The Indians generally refuſing quarter, Colonel Armſtrong ordered their houſes to be ſet on fire, which was done by the officers and ſoldiers with great alacrity. On this, ſome burſt out of the houſes and attempted to reach the river, but were inſtantly ſhot.—Captain Jacobs, in getting out of a window, was ſhot and ſcalped, as were alſo his Squaw, and a lad they called the King's ſon. The Indians had a number of ſpare arms in their houſes loaded, which went off in quick ſucceſſion as the fire came to them; and quantities of gunpowder, which had been ſtored in every houſe, blew up from time to time, throwing their bodies into the air.

Eleven Engliſh priſoners were releaſed, who informed the Colonel, that that very day two batteaux of Frenchmen, with a large party of Delaware and French Indians, were to have joined Captain Jacobs, to march and take Fort Shirley; and that twenty-four warriors had ſet out before them the preceding evening; which proved to be the party that had kindled the fire the preceding night; for our people returning, found Lieutenant Hogg wounded in three places: and learned, that he had attacked the ſuppoſed party of three or four at the fire, but found them too ſtrong for him. He killed three of them however, at the firſt fire, and fought them an hour; when, having loſt three of his men, the reſt, as he lay wounded, abandoned him and fled, the enemy purſuing. Lieutenant Hogg died ſoon after of his wounds.

Enough of these two expeditions has been said, nor can I well tell which of the two was most successful, both losing more of their own men than they killed of the enemy.

A little retrospection again on the actions and behaviour of the Philadelphians, and the other provinces, and places in conjunction with them, may here be something necessary: For, when I arrived at Philadelphia, I found, that however melancholy their situation had been of late, this good effect had been obtained, that the most prejudiced and ignorant individual was feelingly convinced of the necessity of vigorous measures; and, beside national and public views, then the more prevailing ones of revenge and self-interest gave a spur to their counsels. They were accordingly raising men with the utmost expedition; and had, before the end of the summer, a considerable number, though not equal to what they could furnish, having at least 45,000 men in Pensylvania able to fight.

And, pursuant to agreement some months before, the four governments of New England, in conjunction with New York (which last furnished 1300) had now assembled 8000 men (for the attack of Fort Frederick) at Albany, 150 miles N. of New York, and about 130 from Crown Point, under the command of General Winslow. But many people dreading the cruelty of the French, were not so very eager to join them this year as the last; an impress therefore of part of the militia was ordered in New York government. To prevent which, subscriptions were set on foot to engage volunteers by high bounties; so loath were they that some got nine or twelve pounds Sterling to inlist.

The 44th, 48th, 50th, and 51st regiments of Great Britain were destined for the campaign on the great lake Ontario, and mostly marched for Oswego, thence to be carried over in 200 great whale-

whale-boats, which were then at the lake, and were built at Schenectady on Mohawk's river, and were long, round, and light, as the batteaux, being flat-bottomed and small, would not answer the navigation of the lake, where the waves were often very high. They were then, at last, intended to attack Fort Frontenac, mentioned before, and the other French forts on the lake. Upwards of 2000 batteau men were employed to navigate the batteaux, each a ton burthen, laden with provisions and stores from Albany by the Mohawk river, then through Oneyda lake and river, down to Oswego. There were likewise 300 sailors hired and gone up from New York (as I found, when I arrived there) to navigate the four armed ships on the lake, built there, as I have before mentioned, the last year, for the king's service, and two others were then building; smiths, carpenters, and other artificers, having gone there for that purpose some weeks before. Such were the preparations and armaments for this campaign; but how fruitless, to our great disgrace, was soon known all over the world!

I shall not trouble the reader with a long account of a long march I had to take from New York to Oswego, to join my regiment: suffice it therefore, that I arrived there about the middle of July; but in my march thither with some recruits, we joined Colonel Broadstreet at Albany, and on the 6th of May, at the Great Carrying-place, had a skirmish with the French and Indians, wherein several were killed and wounded on both sides; of the latter I made one. Receiving a shot through my left hand, which entirely disabled my third and fourth fingers; and having no hospital, or any conveniencies for the sick there, I was, after having my hand dressed in a wretched manner, sent with the next batteaux to Albany to get it cured.

As ſoon as I was well, I ſet forwards for Oſwego again. And, when I arrived there, I began to make what obſervations I could, as to the alterations that had been made ſince my departure in the month of October preceding. The works of Oſwego, at this time, conſiſted of three forts, *viz.* The Old Fort, built many years before, whoſe chief ſtrength was a weak ſtone-wall, about two feet thick, ſo ill cemented, that it could not reſiſt the force of a four pound ball, and ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the harbour; the two other forts, called Fort Ontario and Fort George, were each of them at the diſtance of about 450 yards from the Old Fort, and ſituated on two eminences, which commanded it; both theſe, as I have already obſerved, were begun to be built laſt year upon plans, which made them defenſible againſt muſquetry, and cannon of three or four pound ball only, the time not allowing works of a ſtronger nature to be then undertaken.

For our defence againſt large cannon, we entirely depended on a ſuperior naval force upon the lake, which might have put it in our power to prevent the French from bringing heavy artillery againſt the place, as that could only be done by water carriage, which is my opinion, as well as many others. If the naval force had but done their duty, Oſwego might have been ours to this very day, and entirely cut off the communication of the French from Canada to the Ohio: But if I would inſiſt on this, as the particulars require, I perhaps ſhould affront ſome, and injure myſelf, all to no purpoſe, or of any beneficial ſervice to recall our former loſſes; for that reaſon, I ſhall defer enlarging on the ſubject, although at the ſame time, I can give very good circumſtances to maintain my argument, if required.

A day or two after being at Oſwego, the fort was alarmed by hearing a firing; when on diſpatching

ing proper ſcouts, it was found to be the French and Indians engaging the batteau men and ſailors, conveying the proviſions to Oſwego, from one river to another. On this, a detachment of 500 men were ordered out in purſuit of them, whereof I was one. We had a narrow paſs in the woods to go through, where we were attacked by a great number of Indians, when a deſperate fight began on both ſides, that laſted about two hours. However, at laſt we gained a complete victory, and put them entirely to the rout, killing fourteen of them, and wounding above forty. On our ſide we had but two men killed and ſix wounded. Many more would have been killed of both parties, had it not been for the thickneſs of the woods.

I cannot here omit recounting a moſt ſingular tranſaction that happened during this my ſecond time of being there, which, though ſcarce credible, is abſolutely true, and can be teſtified by hundreds, who know and have often ſeen the man: in ſhort, one Moglaſky, of the 50th regiment, an Iriſhman, being placed as centinel over the rum which had arrived, and being curious to know its goodneſs, pierced the caſk, and drank till he was quite intoxicated; when, not knowing what he did, he rambled from his poſt, and fell aſleep a good way from the garriſon. An Indian ſkulking that way for prey (as is conjectured) found him, and made free with his ſcalp, which he plucked and carried off. The ſergeant, in the morning, finding him proſtrate on his face, and ſeeing his ſcalp off, imagined him to be dead; but on his nearer approach, and raiſing him from the ground, the fellow awaked from the ſound ſleep he had been in, and aſked the ſergeant what he wanted. The ſergeant, quite ſurpriſed at the ſtrange behaviour of the fellow, interrogated him, how he came there in that condition? He replied, *He could not tell; but that he had got very drunk,*

drunk, and rambled he knew not whither. The ſergeant adviſed him to prepare for death, not having many hours to live, as he had loſt his ſcalp. *Arrah, my dear, now* (cries he) *and are you joking me?* for he really knew nothing of his being ſerved in the manner he was, and would not believe any accident had happened him, until ſeeing his clothes bloody, he felt his head, and found it to be too true, as well as having a cut from his mouth to his ear. He was immediately carried before the Governor, who aſking him, how he came to leave his poſt? He replied, *That being very thirſty, he had broached a caſk of rum, and drank about a pint, which made him drunk; but if his Honour would forgive him, he'd never be guilty of the like again.* The Governor told him, it was very probable he never would, as he was now no better than a dead man. However, the ſurgeons dreſſed his head there as well as they could, and then ſent him in a batteau to Albany, where he was perfectly cured; and, to the great ſurpriſe of every body, was living when I left the country. This, though ſo extraordinary and unparalleled an affair, I aver to be true, having ſeveral times ſeen the man after this accident happened to him. How his life was preſerved ſeems a miracle, as no inſtance of the like was ever known.

I had forgot to mention, that before I left Albany the laſt time, upon Colonel Broadſtreet's arrival there, in his way to Oſwego, with the proviſions and forces, conſiſting of about 500 whale-boats and batteaux, intended for the campaign on the great lake Ontario, mentioned before, I joined his corps, and proceeded on with the batteaux, *&c.*

Going up the river Onondago towards Oſwego, the batteau men were, on the 29th of June, attacked near the Falls, about nine miles from Oſwego, by 505 French and Indians, who killed and wounded 24 of our men, before we could get on ſhore, which,

which, as soon as we did, the French were routed, with the loss of 130 men killed, and several wounded, whom we took prisoners.

Had we known of their lying in ambush, or of their intent to attack us, the victory would have been much more complete on our side, as the troops Colonel Broadstreet commanded were regular, well disciplined, and in tolerable health; whereas the French, by a long passage at sea, and living hard after their arrival at Canada, were much harassed and fatigued.

However, we got all safe to Oswego, with the batteaux and provisions, together with rigging and stores for the large vessels, excepting twenty-four cannon, six pounders, that were then at the Great Carrying-place; which Colonel Broadstreet was to bring with him, upon his next passage, from Schenectady; to which place, as soon as he had delivered to the Quarter-master all the stores under his care, he was ordered to return with the batteaux and men to receive the orders of Major-general Abercrombie. In his return from Schenectady, it was expected that Halket's and Dunbar's regiment would have come with him, in order to take Fort Frontenac, and the other French forts on the lake Ontario. But, alas! as schemes for building castles in the air always prove abortive, for want of proper architecture and foundation, so did this scheme of ours, for want of a due knowledge of our own situation!

On the arrival of these forces, a new brigantine and sloop were fitted out; and, about the same time, a large snow was also launched and rigged, and only waited for her guns and some running rigging, which they expected every day by Col. Broadstreet; and had he returned in time with the cannon and batteau-men under his command, the French would not have dared to have appeared on the

the lake; but Col. Broadſtreet happened to be detained with the batteaux at Schenectady for above a month, waiting for the 44th regiment to march with him: The dilatorineſs of this embarkation at Schenectady cannot be imputed to Col. Broadſtreet, becauſe General Shirley waited with impatience for the arrival of Lord Loudon Campbell from England; and when his Lordſhip landed at New York, he, in a few days after, proceeded to Albany, where his Lordſhip took the command of the army from Gen. Shirley, and upon comparing, and conſidering how bad a ſituation his forces, and the different governments upon the continent were in, his Lordſhip, with the advice of ſeveral other experienced officers, thought himſelf not in a condition to proceed on any enterpriſe for that ſeaſon, no further than to maintain our ground at Oſwego; for which purpoſe, Colonel Broadſtreet was immediately ordered off with the batteaux and proviſions, as alſo the aforeſaid regiments; but before Broadſtreet arrived at the Great Carrying-place, Oſwego was taken, with all the ſhips of war, although our naval force was far ſuperior to the French.

Before I relate the attack of Oſwego, I ſhall review a little what the French were doing during theſe our dilatory, pompous proceedings.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant-general of New France, whilſt he provided for the ſecurity of the frontiers of Canada, was principally attentive to the lakes. Being informed that we were making vaſt preparations at Oſwego for attacking Niagara and Frontenac, he took and razed, in the month of March, the fort where we had formed our principal magazine; and in June following, deſtroyed, on the river of Chonegan or Oſwego, ſome of our veſſels, and made ſome priſoners. The ſucceſs of theſe two expeditions encouraged him to act offenſively, and to attack us at

Oſwego.

Oſwego. This ſettlement they pretended, and ſtill inſiſt on, to be an incroachment, or invaſion, which we had made in time of profound peace, and againſt which, they ſaid, they had continually remonſtrated, during our blundering, negociating Lawyer's reſidence at France. It was at firſt, ſay they, only a fortified magazine; but in order to avail themſelves of its advantageous ſituation in the centre almoſt of the French colonies, the Engliſh added, from time to time, ſeveral new works, and made it conſiſt of three forts, as above deſcribed.

The troops deſigned for this expedition by the French amounted to near 5000 men, 1300 of which were regulars. To prevent his deſign being diſcovered, M. de Vaudreuil pretended, in order the better to deceive us, who had ſo long before been blind, that he was providing only for the ſecurity of Niagara and Frontenac. The Marquis de Montcalm, who commanded on this occaſion, arrived the 29th of July at Fort Frontenac: and having given the neceſſary directions for ſecuring his retreat, in caſe it ſhould have been rendered inevitable, by a ſuperior force, ſent out two veſſels, one of twelve and the other of ſixteen guns, to cruiſe off Oſwego, and poſted a chain of Canadians and Indians on the road between Oſwego and Albany, to intercept our couriers. All the forces, and the veſſels, with the artillery and ſtores, being arrived in the bay of Nixoure, the place of general rendezvous, the Marquis de Montcalm ordered his advance-guard to proceed to a creek, called Anſe aux Cabannes, three leagues from Oſwego. But,

To carry on this account the more accurate and intelligible to the reader, I ſhall recite the actions of the French and ourſelves together, as a more clear and ſuccinct manner of making thoſe unacquainted with the art of war, more ſenſible of this important affair.

Colonel

Colonel Mercer, who was then commanding officer of the garriſon at Oſwego, having, on the 6th of Auguſt, intelligence of a large encampment of French and Indians, about twelve miles off, diſpatched one of the ſchooners, with an account of it to Captain Bradley, who was then on a cruiſe with the large brigantine and two ſloops; at the ſame time, deſired him to cruiſe as far to the eaſtward as he could, and to endeavour to prevent the approach of the French on the lake; but meeting the next day with a ſmall gale of wind, the large brigantine was drove on ſhore near Oſwego, in attempting to get into the harbour; of which misfortune, the Indians immediately gave M. de Montcalm, the French General, notice, who took that opportunity of tranſporting his heavy cannon to about a mile and a half of the fort, which he could not otherwiſe have done, had not there been ſome neglect on our ſide.

For on the 10th, the firſt diviſion of the French being arrived at Anſe aux Cabannes, at two o'clock in the morning; the van-guard proceeded, at four in the afternoon, by land, acroſs woods, to another creek within half a league of Oſwego, in order to favour the debarkation. At midnight their firſt diviſion repaired to this creek, and there erected a battery on the lake Ontario.

Colonel Mercer, in the morning of the 10th, on ſome canoes being ſeen to the eaſtward, ſent out the ſmall ſchooner to make diſcovery of what they were; ſhe was ſcarce half a mile from the fort, before ſhe diſcovered a very large encampment, cloſe under the oppoſite point, being the firſt diviſion of the French troops above mentioned. On this, the two ſloops (the large brigantine being ſtill on ſhore) were ſent out with orders, if poſſible, to annoy the enemy; but this was to no purpoſe; the enemy's cannon being large and well pointed, hulled the veſſels

veſſels almoſt every ſhot, while theirs fell ſhort of the ſhore.

This day and the next, the enemy were employed in making gabions, fauciſſons, and faſcines, and in cutting a road acroſs the woods, from the place of landing, to the place where the trenches were to be opened; and the ſecond diviſion of the enemy arriving on the 11th in the morning, with the artillery and proviſions, the ſame immediately landed without any oppoſition. Though diſpoſitions were made for opening the trenches on the 10th at night, which was rather a parallel of about 100 toiſes * in front, and opened at the diſtance of 60 toiſes from the foſs of Fort Ontario, in ground embarraſſed with trunks of trees.

About five in the morning of the 11th, this parallel was finiſhed, and the workmen began to erect the batteries. Thus was the place inveſted by about 5000 men, and thirty-two pieces of cannon, from twelve to eighteen pounders, beſides ſeveral large braſs mortars and hoyets (among which artillery was part of General Braddock's). About noon they began the attack of Fort Ontario, with ſmall arms, which was briſkly returned. All this day, the garriſon was employed on the weſt ſide of the river, in repairing the batteries on the ſouth ſide of the Old Fort.

The next morning (the 12th) at day-break, a large number of French batteaux were diſcovered on the lake, in their way to join the enemy's camp: on which, Colonel Mercer ordered the two ſloops to be again ſent out, with directions to get between the batteaux and the camp; but before our veſſels came up, the batteaux had ſecured themſelves under the fire of their cannon.

* A toiſe is a French meaſure, and contains about two fathoms, or ſix feet, in length.

In

In the evening, a detachment was made of 100 men of the 50th (General Pepperel's) regiment, and 126 of the New Jersey provincials, under the command of Colonel Schuyler, to take possession of the fort on the hill, to the westward of the Old Fort, and under the direction of the engineer, Mr. M'Kneller, were to put it into the best state of defence they could; in which work they were employed all the following night.

The enemy on the east side continued their approaches to the Fort Ontario, but, with their utmost efforts, for a long time they could not bring their cannon to bear on it. However, drawing their cannon with great expedition, next morning (the 13th) about ten o'clock, to a battery erected within sixty yards from it, they played them very hotly on the garrison, notwithstanding the constant fire kept on them, and the loss of their principal engineer, who was killed in the trenches. A council of war was immediately held, by the officers of General Pepperel's regiment, who, observing the mortars were beginning to play, concluded it most adviseable to quit Fort Ontario, and join Colonel Schuyler's regiment at Fort George or Fort Rascal; and an account of this latter battery being sent to Colonel Mercer, by the commandant of the enemy, ordering him to evacuate the fort, they accordingly did, about three in the afternoon, destroying the cannon, ammunition, and provisions therein, and managed their retreat so as to pass the river, and join the troops at the west side, without the loss of a man. These troops, being about 370, were immediately ordered to join Colonel Schuyler, which they accordingly did, and were employed all the following night in completing the works of that fort.

M. Montcalm immediately took possession of Fort Ontario, and ordered the communications of the parallel to be continued to the banks of the river, where,

where, in the beginning of the night, they began a grand battery, placed in ſuch a manner, that it could not only batter Fort Oſwego, and the way from thence to Fort George, but alſo the intrenchment of Oſwego.

In the morning of the 13th, the large brigantine being off the rocks and repaired, a detachment of eighty men of the garriſon was put on board of her and the two ſloops, in order to go out immediately; but the wind continuing to blow directly into the harbour, rendered it impoſſible for them to get out before the place was ſurrendered. This night, as well as the night before, parties of the enemy's irregulars made ſeveral attempts to ſurpriſe our advance-guards and centinels, on the weſt ſide of the river, but did not ſucceed in any of them.

The enemy were employed this night in bringing up their cannon, and raiſing a battery. On our ſide, we kept a conſtant fire of cannon and ſhells from the Old Fort, and works about it. The cannon which moſt annoyed the enemy, were four pieces, which we reverſed on the platform of an earthen work, which ſurrounded the Old Fort, and which was entirely enfiladed by the enemy's battery on the oppoſite ſhore: In this ſituation, without the leaſt cover, the train, aſſiſted by a detachment of Shirley's regiment, behaved remarkably well.

At day-break, on the 14th, we renewed our fire on that part of the oppoſite ſhore, where we had the evening before obſerved the enemy at work, in raiſing the battery.

The enemy, in three columns, conſiſting of 2500 Canadians and ſavages, croſſed the river, ſome by ſwimming, and others by wading, with the water up to their middles, in order to inveſt and attack the Old Fort. This bold action, by which they entirely cut off the communication of the two forts; the celerity with which the works were carried on,

in ground that we thought impracticable; a continual return of our fire from a battery of ten cannon, twelve pounders; and their preparing a battery of mortars and hoyets, made Colonel Mercer think it adviſeable (he not knowing their numbers) to order Colonel Schuyler, with 500 men, to oppoſe them; which would accordingly have been carried into execution, and conſequently, every man of the 500 cut off, had not Colonel Mercer been killed by a cannon-ball, a few minutes after. The reſolution of this valiant Colonel, ſeemed to be determined to oppoſe the French to the laſt extremity, and to maintain his ground at Oſwego, but his final doom came on ſo unexpectedly, that his loſs was univerſally regretted.

About ten o'clock, the enemy's battery was ready to play; at which time, all our places of defence were either enfiladed, or ruined by the conſtant fire of their cannon; Fort Raſcal or George, in particular, having at that time no guns, and ſcarce in a condition to defend itſelf againſt ſmall arms; with 2500 irregulars on our backs, ready to ſtorm us on that ſide, and 2000 of their regulars as ready to land in our front, under the fire of their cannon. Whereas,

Fort Raſcal might have been made a very defenſible fortreſs, lying on a hill, and the aſcent to it ſo ſteep, that had an enemy been ever ſo numerous, they muſt have ſuffered greatly in an attempt to ſtorm it. Why it was not in a better ſtate, it becomes not me to ſay, but matters were ſo.

And in this ſituation we were, when Colonel Littlehales, who ſucceeded Colonel Mercer in the command, called a council of war, who were, with the engineers, unanimouſly of opinion, that the works were no longer tenable; and that it was by no means prudent to riſk a ſtorm with ſuch unequal numbers.

The

The chamade was accordingly ordered to be beat, and the firing ceaſed on both ſides; yet the French were not idle, but improved this opportunity to bring up more cannon, and advance the main body of their troops, within muſquet-ſhot of the garriſon, and prepared every thing for a ſtorm. Two officers were ſent to the French General, to know what terms he would give; the Marquis de Montcalm made anſwer, that they might expect whatever terms were conſiſtent with the ſervice of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: He accordingly agreed to the following:—

ARTICLE I. "The garriſon ſhall ſurrender priſoners of war, and ſhall be conducted from hence "to Montreal, where they ſhall be treated with "humanity, and every one ſhall have treatment "agreeable to their reſpective ranks, according to "the cuſtom of war.

II. "Officers, and ſoldiers, and individuals, ſhall "have their baggage and clothes, and they ſhall "be allowed to carry them along with them.

III. "They ſhall remain priſoners of war, until "they are exchanged."

Given at the camp before Oſwego,
Auguſt 14, 1756.

MONTCALM.

By virtue of this capitulation, the garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war, and the French immediately took poſſeſſion of Oſwego, and Fort George, which they entirely deſtroyed, agreeable to their orders, after removing the artillery, warlike ſtores, and proviſions.

But to deſcribe the plunder, havock, and devaſtation, made by the French, as well as the ſavages, who ruſhed in by thouſands, is impoſſible.

For notwithſtanding the Chriſtian promiſe made by the General of his *Moſt Chriſtian* Majeſty, they all behaved more like infernal beings than creatures in human ſhapes. In ſhort, not contented with ſurrendering upon the above terms, they ſcalped and killed all the ſick and wounded in the hoſpitals; mangling, butchering, cutting, and chopping off their heads, arms, legs, &c. with ſpades, hatchets, and other ſuch diabolical inſtruments; treating the whole with the utmoſt cruelty, notwithſtanding the repeated interceſſions of the defenceleſs ſick and wounded for mercy; which were indeed piteous enough to have ſoftened any heart poſſeſſed of the minuteſt particle of humanity!

Here I cannot help obſerving, that notwithſtanding what has been ſaid of the behaviour of the officers of theſe (the 50th and 51ſt) regiments, I muſt, with the greateſt truth, give them the characters of brave, but I wiſh I could ſay, experienced men; every one of them that I had an opportunity of obſerving during the ſiege, behaving with the utmoſt courage and intrepidity. Nor, in this place, can I omit particularly naming Colonel James Campbell and Captain Archibald Hamilton *, who aſſiſted with the greateſt ſpirit and alacrity the private men at the great guns. But for ſuch an handful of men as our garriſon then conſiſted of, and the works being of ſuch a weak and defenceleſs nature, to have made a longer defence, or have cauſed the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, would have been ſuch an inſtance as England for many years hath not experienced; and I am afraid will be many more before it will, for reaſons that are too obvious.

The quantity of ſtores and ammunition we then had in the three forts is almoſt incredible. But of

* Colonel Campbell and Captain Hamilton are at preſent in Scotland, the former reſides near Glaſgow, and the latter in Edinburgh.

what

what avail are powder and balls if walls and ramparts are defenceleſs, and men inſufficient to make uſe of them? In ſhort, the French by taking this place, made themſelves maſters of the following things, all which were immediately ſent to Frontenac, *viz.* ſeven pieces of braſs cannon, nineteen, fourteen, and twelve pounders; forty-eight iron cannon, of nine, ſix, five, three, and two pounders; a braſs mortar of nine inches four-twelfths, and thirteen others of ſix and three inches; forty-ſeven ſwivel-guns; 23,000 lb. of gunpowder; 8000 lb. of lead and muſquet ball; two thouſand nine hundred and fifty cannon balls; one hundred and fifty bombs, of nine inches, and three hundred more, of ſix inches diameter; one thouſand four hundred and twenty-ſix grenadoes; one thouſand and ſeventy muſquets; a veſſel pierced for eighteen guns; the brigantine of ſixteen, a gœletta of ten, a batteau of ten (the ſloops already mentioned), another of eight guns, a ſkirff of eighteen ſwivels, and another burnt upon the ſtocks; ſeven hundred and four barrels of biſcuit, one thouſand three hundred and eighty-ſix firkins of bacon and beef; ſeven hundred and twelve firkins of meal; thirty-two live oxen; fifteen hogs, and a large ſum of money in the military cheſt, amounting, as the French ſaid, to eighteen thouſand five hundred and ninety-four livres.

On the 16th they began to remove us; the officers were firſt ſent in batteaux, and two hundred ſoldiers a-day afterwards, till the whole were gone, being carried firſt to Montreal, and from thence to Quebec. Our duty in the batteaux till we reached the firſt place, was very hard and ſlaviſh: And during the time we were on the lake or river St Laurence, it appeared very eaſy and feaſible for Commodore Bradely, had he thought proper, to have deſtroyed all the enemy's batteaux, and have pre-

vented them from ever landing their cannon within forty miles of the fort. But he knew his own reasons for omitting this piece of ſervice beſt.

Our party arrived at Montreal in Canada on the 28th. We were that night ſecured in the fort, as were the reſt as they came in. The French uſed various means to win ſome of our troops over to their intereſt, or, at leaſt, to do their work in the fields, which many refuſed, among whom was myſelf; who were then conducted on board a ſhip, and ſent to Quebec, where, on arriving, the 5th of September, we were lodged in a gaol, and kept for the ſpace of one month.

During this our captivity, many of our men, rather than lie in a priſon, went out to work and aſſiſt the French in getting in their harveſt; they having then ſcarce any people left in that country but old men, women, and children, ſo that the corn was continually falling into the ſtubble, for want of hands to reap it; but thoſe who did go out, in two or three days, choſe confinement again, rather than liberty on ſuch terms, being almoſt ſtarved, having nothing in the country to live on but dry bread, whereas we in the priſon were each of us allowed two pounds of bread, and half a pound of meat a-day, and otherwiſe treated with a good deal of humanity.

Eighteen ſoldiers were all the guard they had to place over us, who being greatly fatigued with hard duty, and dreading our riſing on them (which had we had any arms we might eaſily have done, and ravaged the country round, as it was then entirely defenceleſs), and the town's people themſelves fearing the conſequences of having ſuch a number of men in a place where proviſions were at that time very ſcarce and dear, they thought of ſending us away, the moſt eligible way of keeping themſelves

ſelves from famine, and accordingly put 500 of us on board a veſſel for England.

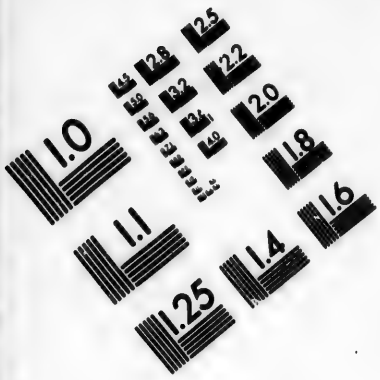
But before I continue the account of our voyage home to our native country, I ſhall juſt make a ſhort retroſpection on the conſequences which attended the loſs of Oſwego, as appeared to us and the reſt of the people at Quebec, who knew that part of America, to which this important place was a ſafeguard.

As ſoon as Oſwego was taken, our only communication from the Mohawk's river to the lake Oneida was ſtopt up, by filling the place at Wood's Creek with great logs and trees, for many miles together. A few days afterwards, the forts at the Great Carrying-place, and then our moſt advanced poſt into the country of the Six Nations, which I have before given a ſhort account of (and where there were at that time above three thouſand men, including one thouſand two hundred batteau men, and which ſtill gave the Six Nations ſome hopes that we would defend their country againſt the French), were abandoned and deſtroyed, and the troops which were under the command of General Webb, retreated to Burnet's Field, and left the country and the Six Nations to the mercy of the enemy.

The French, immediately after the taking of Oſwego, demoliſhed, as is ſaid before, all the works there, and returned with their priſoners and booty to Ticonderago, to oppoſe our provincial army under the command of General Winſlow, who had ſhamefully been kept, in expectation of the dilatory arrival of Lord Louden, from attacking Crown Point, while the enemy were weak, and it was eaſily in our power to have beat them.

The conſequences of the deſtruction of our forts at the Great Carrying-place, and General Webb's retreating to Burnet's Field, is now, alas! too apparent to every one acquainted with American affairs.

The



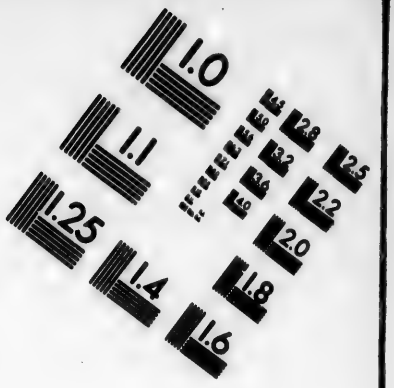
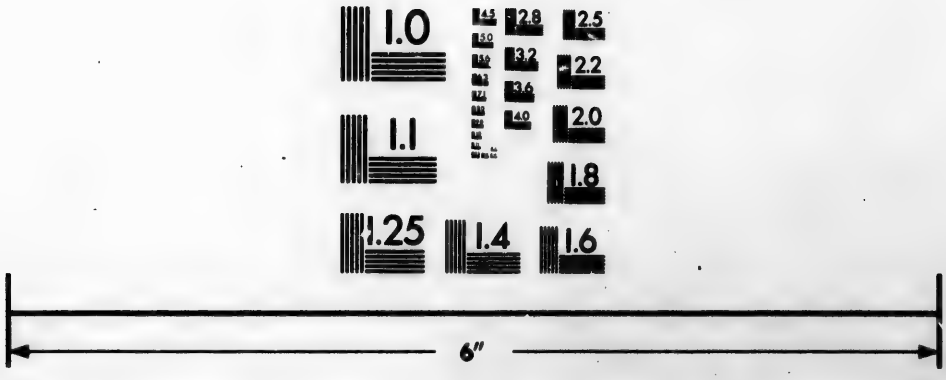
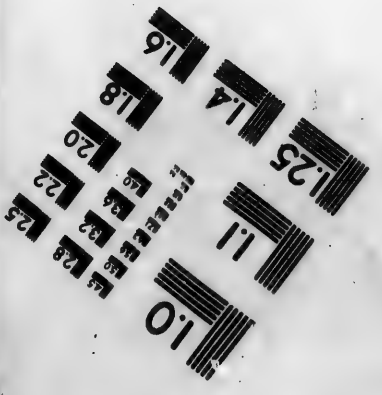
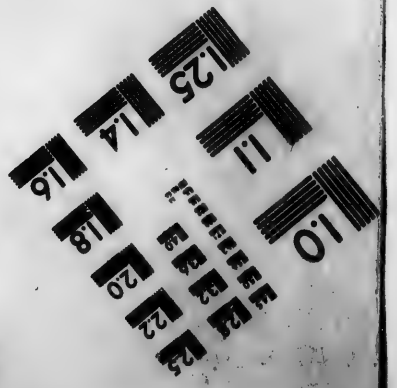


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)







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The Indians of the Six Nations undoubtedly looked upon it as abandoning them and their country to the French: for they plainly ſaw that we had no ſtrong-hold near them, and that (by the place at Wood's Creek being ſtopped) we could not, if we would, afford them any aſſiſtance at Onondago, Cayuga, and in the Senekea's country, which were their chief caſtles: That the forts begun by us in thoſe countries were left unfiniſhed, and therefore could be of no uſe to them, and which, if we had kept the Carrying-place, we might have finiſhed, and given them ſtill hopes of our being able to defend.

But deſpairing of our being further ſerviceable to them, thoſe Iroquois, who were before our friends, and ſome of the others, have indeed deſerted us, and the conſequences of ſuch their junctions with the French, was ſoon after felt in the loſs of Fort George on Lake Sacrament.

The fine country on the Mohawk's river down to Albany, was by this ſtep left open to the ravages of the enemy, and an eaſy paſſage opened to the French and their Indians into the provinces of Penſylvania and New Jerſey, by the way of Suſquehana and Delaware rivers, which were before covered by our ſettlements on the Mohawk's river, and the Six Nations.

I ſhall here give the beſt deſcription of the Indians, their way of living, *&c.* in my power.

It is difficult to gueſs what may be the number of the Indians ſcattered up and down our back ſettlements; but, if their own account be true, they amount to many thouſands. Be this, however, as it will, they are not to be feared merely on account of their numbers; other circumſtances conſpire to make them formidable: The Engliſh inhabitants, though numerous, are extended over a vaſt tract of land, 500 leagues in length on the ſea-

ſea-ſhore, and for the moſt part have fixed habitations, the eaſieſt and ſhorteſt paſſages to which, the Indians, by conſtantly hunting in the woods, are perfectly well acquainted with; and as their way of making war is by ſudden attacks upon expoſed places, as ſoon as they have done the miſchief at one place, they retire, and either go home by ſome different route, or go to ſome diſtant place to renew their attacks. If they are purſued, it is a chance if they do not enſnare their purſuers; or if that be not the caſe, as ſoon as they have gained the rivers, ſo dexterous are they in the uſe of their canoes, that they preſently get out of reach. It is to no purpoſe to follow them to their ſettlements; for they can, without much diſadvantage, quit their old habitations, and betake themſelves to new ones: Add to this, that they can be ſuddenly drawn together from any diſtance, as they can find their ſubſiſtence in travelling from their guns.

No people on earth have a higher ſenſe of liberty, or ſtronger affection for their relations: when offended, they are the moſt implacable vindictive enemies on earth; for no diſtance of place, or ſpace of time, will abate their reſentment; but they will watch every opportunity of revenge, and when ſuch opportunity offers, they revenge themſelves effectually.

They will ſooner ſacrifice their own lives for the ſake of liberty, than humble themſelves to the arbitrary control of any perſon whatſoever. In battle they never ſubmit, and will die rather than be taken priſoners.

Our late tranſactions in America teſtify, that the friendſhip of the Indians is to be deſired, and the only way to maintain a friendly correſpondence with them, is by making ſuch propoſitions to them as will ſecure their liberties, and be agreeable to their expectations; and not only by keeping theſe

propoſitions

propoſitions inviolable as well in time of peace as in time of war, but alſo renewing our treaties with them from time to time; for they are very jealous and tenacious of an affront or neglect. They are very proud, and love to be eſteemed. In time of peace, they live upon what they get of the white people, for which they barter ſkins, furs, &c. Their clothing, and every thing elſe they want, ſuch as arms, they get in the ſame manner. In war-time, they live upon what they can procure by their gun, and, if that fails, upon roots, fruits, herbs, and other vegetables of the natural produce of the earth.

They have never the foreſight to provide neceſſaries for themſelves; they look only to the preſent moment, and leave to-morrow to provide for itſelf. They eat of every wild beaſt which they kill, without diſtinction. They always prefer game to vegetables; but when they cannot get veniſon, they live on roots, fruits, and herbs. They deſtroy a great deal of meat at a time, when they have it in their power, and when they leave any, be it never ſuch a great quantity, it is ten to one if any of them will take the trouble to carry a pound of it, but will rather leave it behind them; yet, notwithſtanding this extravagance, ſuch is their tempers, and they are ſo inured to hardſhips, that if they cannot conveniently get at food, they can, and actually do faſt ſometimes for near a week together, and yet are as active as if they lived regularly. All their ſpare time is taken up in contriving ſchemes to ſucceed in their intended expeditions. They can never be taken in a purſuit by any European. They will travel ſeventy miles a-day, and continue for months together, as I have reaſon to know from experience; and they are ſure to bring their purſuers into a ſnare, if they are not wary, and have ſome Indians on their ſide to beat the buſhes. When they are overtaken with ſleep, they light a great

great fire, which prevents the wild beaſts from falling upon them; for wild beaſts have a natural averſion to fire: nor is it eaſy for an enemy to diſcover them in this condition; for the country is one continued tract of thick wood, overgrown with bruſh-wood, ſo that you cannot ſee the fire till you be within a few yards of it. They have nothing covering them from the inclemency of the weather but a blanket put upon them, ſomething in the ſhape of a Highlander's plaid.

And further, to prevent their being long obſerved by their purſuers, or to be ſeen too ſoon when they have a mind to attack any plantation, they paint themſelves of the ſame colour with the trees among which they hide themſelves.

When they are to attack a plantation they never come out till night, and then they ruſh inſtantly upon the farms, *&c.* and deſtroy every thing, as well men, women, and children, as beaſts; then they fall to plunder, and return to their lurking-holes till another opportunity of plunder happens, when they renew their attack in the ſame manner; ſo that if ſome method is not taken to draw them into our intereſt, our colonies will be in a continual alarm, and the country will ſoon become deſolate; for no body will venture their lives to ſettle on the back parts, unleſs the Indians are our friends.

The Indian manner of fighting is quite different from that of other nations. They induſtriouſly avoid all open engagements; and, beſides ambuſcades, their principal way is buſh-fighting, in the exerciſe of which they are very dexterous; for the back country being one continued wood, except ſome few ſpots cleared for the purpoſe of huſbandry by our back ſettlers, the Indians ſquat themſelves down behind the trees, and fire their muſkets at the enemy; if the enemy advances, then they retreat behind other trees, and fire in the ſame manner, and

and as they are good marksmen, they never fire in vain, whereas their pursuers seldom hit.

Notwithstanding the polite schemes of France are nearly brought to a period, yet if the Indians are not satisfied with the conclusion of a peace betwixt us and the French as to America; I mean, unless they are fairly dealt with, we shall gain but little by all our conquests; for it is the friendship of the Indians that will make Canada valuable to us. We have already more lands than we are able to manage; but the advantage, nay the necessity of keeping Canada, I have already shown; and therefore I shall go on with my account of the Indians.

When last in London, I remember to have heard some coffee-house politicians, chagrined at the devastation they made on our back settlements, say, that it would be an easy matter to root out the savages by clearing the ground. I answer, that the task may seem easy to them, but the execution of such a scheme on such a tract of land, would be so difficult, that I doubt whether there are people enough in Great Britain and Ireland to accomplish it in a hundred years time, were they to meet with no opposition; but where there is such a subtle enemy to deal with, I am afraid we should make but little progress in reducing the Indians, even allowing the country to be all cleared, as there are hills and other fastnesses to which the Indians can retire, and where they would greatly have the better of every attempt to dislodge them. The only way I would advise, is to keep friends with the Indians, and endeavour to prevail on them to settle in the same manner as the planters do, which they will be the more easily brought to, if the French are excluded from Canada. For, notwithstanding their wandering way of life, I have the greatest reason to believe they have no dislike to an easy life. And as they will have no temptations to murder, as they had when stirred

up

up by the ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, they will ſoon become uſeful members of ſociety.

When firſt the Engliſh arrived in the American colonies, they found the woods inhabited by a race of people, uncultivated in their manners, but not quite devoid of humanity. They were ſtrangers to literature, ignorant of the liberal arts, and deſtitute of almoſt every conveniency of life.

But if they were unpractiſed in the arts of more civilized nations, they were alſo free from their vices. They ſeemed perfect in two parts of the ancient Perſian education, namely, ſhooting with the bow, and ſpeaking truth. In their dealings they commonly exchange one commodity for another. Strangers themſelves to fraud, they had an entire confidence in others. According to their abilities, they were generous and hoſpitable. Happy, thrice happy had they been, if, ſtill preſerving their native innocence and ſimplicity, they had only been inſtructed in the knowledge of God, and the doctrines of Chriſtianity! Had they been taught ſome of the more uſeful parts of life, and to lay aſide what was wild and ſavage in their manners!

They received the Engliſh, upon their firſt arrival, with open arms, treated them kindly, and ſhewed an earneſt deſire, that they ſhould ſettle and live with them. They freely parted with ſome of their lands to their new-come brethren, and chearfully entered into a league of friendſhip with them. As the Engliſh were in immediate want of the aſſiſtance of the Indians, they, on their part, endeavoured to make their coming agreeable. Thus they lived for ſome years, in the mutual exchange of friendly offices. Their houſes were open to each other; they treated one another as brothers. But by their different way of living, the Engliſh ſoon acquired property, while the Indians continued in their former indigence; hence the former found they could eaſily

live without the latter, and therefore became less anxious about preserving their friendship. This gave a check to that mutual hospitality that had hitherto subsisted between them; and this, together with the decrease of game for hunting, arising from the increase of the English settlements, induced the Indians to remove further back into the woods.

From this time the natives began to be treated as a people of whom an advantage might be taken. As the trade with them was free and open, men of loose and abandoned characters engaged in it, and practised every fraud. Before the coming of the white people, the Indians never tasted spirituous liquors, and, like most barbarous nations, having once tasted, became immoderately fond thereof, and had no longer any government of themselves. The traders availed themselves of this weakness; instead of carrying our cloaths to cover the naked savages, they carried them rum, and thereby debauched their manners, weakened their constitutions, introduced disorders unknown to them before, and in short corrupted and ruined them.

The Indians finding the ill effects of this trade, began to complain. Wherefore laws were made, prohibiting any from going to trade with them without a license from the Governor, and it was also made lawful for the Indians to stave the casks, and spill what rum was brought among them; but this was to little purpose: the Indians had too little command of themselves to do their duty, and were easily prevailed upon not to execute this law; and the design of the former was frustrated, by men of loose character taking out licenses to trade, and then employing under them persons of no honour or principle, generally servants and convicts imported hither from Britain and Ireland, whom they sent with goods into the Indian country to trade on their account. These [illegible] beyond the reach of

of the law, executed unheard-of villanies upon the poor natives, committing crimes which modesty forbids to name, and behaving in a manner too shocking to be related.

At every treaty which the Indians held with the English, they complained of the abuses they suffered from the traders, and trade as then carried on. They requested that the traders might be recalled; but all to no purpose. They begged, in the strongest terms, that no rum might be suffered to come among them; but were only told they were at liberty to spill all the rum brought into their country. At this time, little or no pains was taken to civilize or instruct them in the Christian religion, till at length the conduct of the traders, professing themselves of that religion, gave the Indians an almost invincible prejudice against it. Besides, as these traders travelled among distant nations of the Indians, and were in some sort the representatives of the English, from them the Indians formed a very unfavourable opinion of our whole nation, and easily believed every misrepresentation made of us by our enemies. There are instances in history, where the virtue and disinterested behaviour of one man have prejudiced whole nations of barbarians in favour of the people to whom he belonged; and is it then to be wondered at, if the Indians conceived a rooted prejudice against us, when not one, but a whole set of men, namely, all of our nation, that they had an opportunity of seeing or conversing with, were persons of a loose or abandoned behaviour, insincere and faithless, without religion, virtue, or morality? No one will think I exaggerate these matters, who has either known the traders themselves, or who has read the public treaties.

If to this be added, what I find in the late treaties, that they have been wronged in some of their

lands, what room will there be any longer to wonder, that we have so little interest with them; that their conduct towards us is of late so much changed, that, instead of being a security and protection to us, as they have been hitherto, during the several wars between us and the French, they are now turned against us and become our enemies, principally on account of the fraudulent dealings and immoral conduct of those heretofore employed in our trade with them, who have brought dishonour upon our religion, and disgrace on our nation? It nearly concerns us, if possible, to wipe off these reproaches, and to redeem our character, which can only be done by regulating the trade.—And this the Indians, with whom the government of Philadelphia lately treated, demanded and expected of us.

At present, a favourable opportunity presents for doing it effectually. All those who were engaged in this trade, are by the present troubles removed from it; and it is to be hoped that the legislature will fall upon measures to prevent any such from ever being concerned in it again. This is the only foundation upon which we can expect a lasting peace with the natives. It is evident that a great deal depends upon the persons who are to be sent into the Indian country: from these alone the Indians will form a judgment of us, our religion, and manners. If these then who are to be our representatives among the Indians, be men of virtue and integrity, sober in their conversation, honest in their dealings, and whose practice corresponds with their profession, the judgment formed of us will be favourable: if, on the contrary, they be loose and profane persons, men of wicked lives, and profligate morals, we must expect that, among the Indians, our religion will pass for a jest, and we in general for a people faithless and despicable.

I might

I might here add ſome obſervations reſpecting the commodities proper to be carried among the Indians, in kind as well as quality, with a method of carrying on the trade, ſo as to preſerve the native innocence of the Indians, and at the ſame time confirm them immoveable in our intereſt; but theſe things, as well as ſome remarks I have in a courſe of years made upon the Indians, I ſhall leave for the ſubject of ſome future hiſtory.

I ſhall now proceed to give a conciſe account of the climates, produce, trade, *&c.* of North America. And firſt,

Of NEW-ENGLAND.

The province of New-England appears to be vaſtly extenſive, being about 400 miles in length, and near 300 in breadth, ſituated between 69 and 73 deg. W. long. and between 41 and 46 deg. N. lat. It was firſt ſettled by the Independents, a little before the commencement of the civil wars in England: They tranſported themſelves thither, rather than they would communicate with the church of England.

The lands next the ſea in New-England, are generally low, and the ſoil ſandy; but farther up the country, it riſes into hills, and on the north-eaſt it is rocky and mountainous: The winters are much ſeverer here than in Old England, though it lies 9 or 10 degrees more ſouth, but they have uſually a clearer ſky and more ſettled weather, both in winter and ſummer, than in Old England; and though their ſummers are ſhorter, the air is conſiderably hotter while it laſts. The winds are very boiſterous in the winter ſeaſon, and the north wind blowing over a long tract of frozen and uncultivated countries, with ſeveral freſh water lakes, makes it

exceſſive cold. Their rivers are ſometimes congealed in a night's time: the climate is generally healthful, and agreeable to Engliſh conſtitutions.

The fruits of Old England come to great perfection here, particularly peaches, which are planted trees; and we have commonly 1200 or 1400 fine peaches on ſuch a tree at one time; nay, of the fruit of one ſingle apple tree, in one ſeaſon, nine barrels of cyder have been made. Engliſh wheat I find does not thrive here, within 40 or 50 miles of Boſton; but farther up in the country, they have it in great plenty, and I think it comes to the ſame perfection as in Britain. Now, why wheat ſhould not grow near this city, I confeſs I can aſſign no reaſon that will fully ſatisfy the reader's curioſity. The conjectures upon it are various: Some venture to ſay, that it was occaſioned by the unjuſt perſecution of the Quakers, the Independents having vented their ſpleen againſt them in a way the moſt rigorous, and in flat contradiction to the laws of Chriſtianity. All other grain but wheat thrives in this place with great ſucceſs; in particular Indian corn, one grain whereof frequently produces 1200, and ſometimes 2000 grains. This corn is of three different colours, *viz.* blue, white, and yellow.

Of NEW-YORK.

The ſituation of this province is between 72 and 76 weſt long. and between 41 and 44 north lat. being about 200 miles in length, and 100 miles in breadth. The lands, in the Jerſeys and ſouth part of New-York, are low and flat; but as you aſcend 20 or 30 miles up Hudſon's river, the country is rocky and mountainous. The air is much milder here in winter than in New-England, and in ſummer it is pretty much the ſame. The produce and

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trade of New York and the Jerſeys conſiſt in cattle, and a good breed of horſes. They have plenty of wheat and other grain, ſuch as Indian corn, buck-weed, oats, barley, and rye. It abounds alſo with ſtore of fiſh: they ſupply the ſugar iſlands with flower, ſalt beef, pork, ſalt fiſh, and timber planks, in return for the produce raiſed there.

Of PENSYLVANIA.

The extent of this colony is 200 miles in length, and 200 miles in breadth. The ſoil is much better than in Jerſey, chiefly conſiſting of a black mould; the country riſes gradually as in the adjacent provinces, having the Apalachian mountains on the weſt, and is divided into ſix counties. The air, it lying in the 40 deg. of N. lat. is near the ſame as in New York, and very healthy to Engliſh conſtitutions. The produce and merchandiſe of Penſylvania conſiſts in horſes, pipe ſtaves, beef, pork, ſalt fiſh, ſkins, furs, and all ſorts of grain; *viz.* wheat, rye, peaſe, oats, barley, buck-weed, Indian corn, Indian peaſe, beans, pot-aſhes, wax, *&c.* and in return for theſe commodities, they import from the Carribee iſlands, and other places, rum, ſugar, melaſſes, ſilver, negroes, ſalt, and clothing of all ſorts, hardware, *&c.* The nature of the ſoil in Penſylvania, the Jerſeys, and New York, is extremely proper to produce hemp, flax, *&c.*

If the government of Penſylvania, ſince the death of its firſt proprietor, William Penn, had taken proper methods to oblige the traders to deal juſtly with the Indians, whoſe tempers, when exaſperated with reſentment, are more ſavage than the hungry lion, theſe diſaſters might have been, in a good degree, prevented.

I intend

I intend to conclude this argument in a few words, and ſhall endeavour to do juſtice on both ſides, by adhering ſtrictly to truth. Know, therefore, that within theſe late years, the Indians being tolerably acquainted with the nature of our commerce, have detected the roguery of ſome of the traders, whereupon they lodged many and grievous complaints to Col. Weiſer, the interpreter between them and the Engliſh, of the injurious and fraudulent uſage they had received for ſeveral years backwards from white people, who had cheated them out of their ſkins and furs, not giving them one quarter their value for them.

Likewiſe they remonſtrated, that whereas hunting was the chief way or art they ever had to earn a livelihood by; game was now become very ſcarce, becauſe the whites practiſed it ſo much on their ground, deſtroying their prey. Colonel Weiſer, their interpreter, adviſed them to bring down their ſkins and furs to Philadelphia themſelves, promiſing that he would take proper care to ſee their goods vended to their advantage. Whereupon they did ſo, in purſuance of his inſtructions, and finding it their intereſt, reſolved to continue in the way he had chalked out for them; for now they were ſupplied with every thing they wanted from the merchants ſhops, at the cheapeſt rates. And thus it plainly appeared to the Indians, that they had been long impoſed on by the traders, and therefore they were determined to have no more dealings with them. This conduct and ſhyneſs of the Indians was very diſagreeable to ſeveral gentlemen of the province, who were nearly intereſted in that ſpecies of commerce.

Accordingly, in the year 1753 and 1754, ſome of the traders had the aſſurance to renew their friendſhip with them, when, inſtead of remitting them cloaths and other neceſſaries as had been uſual,

uſual, and were moſt proper for them, they, with inſidious purpoſes, carried them large quantities of rum in ſmall caſks, which they knew the natives were fond of, under colour of giving it them *gratis*. In this manner were the ſavages inveigled into liquor by the whites, who took the opportunity, while they were intoxicated, of going off with their ſkins and furs; but the natives, recovering from the debauch, ſoon detected the villany, and, in revenge, killed many of the traders, and went directly over to the French, who encouraged them to ſlay every Engliſh perſon they could meet with, and deſtroy their houſes by fire, giving them orders to ſpare neither man, woman, nor child. Beſides, as a farther incitement to diligence in this bloody taſk, they promiſed the ſavages a reward of 15*l.* Sterling, for every ſcalp they ſhould take, on producing the ſame before any of his *Moſt Chriſtian* Majeſty's officers, civil or military.

Thus our perfidious enemies inſtigated thoſe unreaſonable barbarians to commence acts of depredation, violence, and murder, on the ſeveral inhabitants of North America in 1754, and more eſpecially in Penſylvania, as knowing it to be the moſt defenceleſs province on the continent. This conſideration prompted the ſavage race to exhauſt their malicious fury on it in particular.

Of MARYLAND.

This country extends about 150 miles in length, and 137 miles in breadth. The lands are low and flat next the ſea; towards the heads of rivers they riſe into hills, and beyond lie the Apalachian mountains, which are exceeding high. The air of this province is exceſſive hot ſome part of the ſummer, and equally cold in the winter, when the north-

weſt

weſt wind blows; but the winters are not of ſo long duration here as in ſome other colonies adjoining to it. In the ſpring of the year, they are infeſted with thick heavy fogs that riſe from the low lands, which render the air more unhealthy for Engliſh conſtitutions; and hence it is, that, in the aforeſaid ſeaſon, the people are conſtantly afflicted with agues.

The produce of this country is chiefly tobacco, planted and cultivated here with much application, and nearly the ſame ſucceſs as in Virginia, and their principal trade with England is in that article. It alſo affords them moſt ſorts of the grain and fruits of Europe and America.

Of VIRGINIA.

The extent of this province is computed to be 260 miles in length, 220 miles in breadth, being moſtly low flat land. For one hundred miles up the country, there is ſcarce a hill or a ſtone to be ſeen. The air and ſeaſons (it lying beween 36 and 39 of north lat.) depend very much on the wind, as to heat and cold, dryneſs and moiſture. The north and north-weſt winds are very nitrous and piercing cold, or elſe boiſterous and ſtormy: The ſouth and ſouth-eaſt winds, hazy and ſultry hot. In winter they have a fine clear air, which renders it very pleaſant: The froſts are ſhort, but ſometimes ſo very ſharp that rivers are frozen over three miles broad. Snow often falls in large quantities; but ſeldom continues above two or three days at moſt.

The ſoil, though generally ſandy and ſhallow, produces tobacco of the beſt quality, in great abundance. The people's uſual food is Indian corn made into hommony, boiled to a pulp, and comes the neareſt to buttered wheat of any thing I can com-

pare

pare it to. They have horſes, cows, ſheep, and hogs in prodigious plenty, many of the laſt running wild in the woods. The regulation kept here is much the ſame as in New England; every man from 16 to 60 years of age is inliſted into the militia, and muſtered once a-year at a general review, and four times a-year by troops and companies.—Their military complement, by computation, amounts to about 30,000 effective men; the collective number of the inhabitants, men, women and children, to 100,500, and including ſervants and ſlaves, to twice that number.

Of CAROLINA.

This colony is computed to extend 660 miles in length; but its breadth is unknown. The lands here are generally low and flat, and not a hill to be ſeen from St. Auguſtine to Virginia, and a great way beyond. It is moſtly covered with woods, where the planters have not cleared it. About 100 miles weſt of the coaſt, it ſhoots up into eminences, and continues to riſe gradually all along to the Apalachian mountains, which are about 160 miles diſtant from the ocean. The north parts of Carolina are very uneven, but the ground is extremely proper for producing wheat; and all other ſorts of grain that grow in Europe, will come to great perfection here. The ſouth parts of Carolina, if properly cultivated, might be made to produce ſilk, wine, and oil. This country yields large quantities of rice, of which they yearly ſhip off to other colonies about 80,000 barrels, each barrel containing 400 weight; beſides they make abundance of tar, pitch, and turpentine. They carry on alſo a great trade with deer-ſkins, and furs, to all places of Europe, which the Engliſh receive from the Indians in bar-

ter

ter for guns, powder, knives, ſciſſars, looking-glaſſes, beads, rum, tobacco, coarſe cloth, &c.

The Engliſh chapmen carry their pack-horſes five or ſix hundred miles into the country, weſt of Chareſtown; but moſt of the commerce is confined within the limits of the Creek and Cherokee nations, which do not lie above 350 miles from the coaſt. The air is very temperate and agreeable both ſummer and winter. Carolina is divided into two diſtinct provinces, *viz.* North and South Carolina.

Of NOVA-SCOTIA.

This place extends about 600 miles in length, and 450 in breadth: The air is pretty much the ſame as in Old England: The ſoil is, for the moſt part, barren; but where it is cleared and cultivated, it affords good corn and paſture. Here is fine timber, and fit for building, from whence pitch and tar may be extracted. Here alſo hemp and flax will grow, ſo that this country will be capable of furniſhing all manner of naval ſtores. It abounds likewiſe with deer, wild fowl, and all ſorts of game. On the coaſt is one of the fineſt cod-fiſheries in the world. European cattle, *viz.* ſheep, oxen, ſwine, horſes, &c. they have in great abundance. The winters are very cold, their froſts being ſharp and of a long duration: Their ſummers are moderately hot; ſo that the climate, in the main, ſeems to be agreeable to Engliſh conſtitutions.

Of CANADA.

I ſhall cloſe the deſcription of the American colonies with a ſhort account of the ſoil and produce of French Canada. Its extent is, according to their map, 1800 miles in length, and 1260 in breadth. The ſoil, in the low lands near the river St. Lau-

rence,

rence, will indeed raiſe wheat; but, withal, I found it ſo ſhallow, that it would not produce that grain above two years, unleſs it was properly manured. About 20 miles from the ſaid river, ſo hilly and mountainous is the country, that nothing but Indians and wild ravenous beaſts reſort there. However, they have plenty of rye, Indian corn, buckweed, and oats; likewiſe of horſes, cows, ſheep, ſwine, &c. But I have obſerved that fruits of any kind do not come to ſuch perfection here as in ſome of the Engliſh ſettlements, which is owing to the long duration and exceſſive cold of their winters. The ſummer is ſhort, and temperately hot. The climate, in general, is healthy and agreeable to European conſtitutions. And ſo much for the provinces in North America.

It is now high time to return to the embarkation at Quebec. Five hundred of us, being to be ſent to England, were put on board La Renomme, a French paquet-boat, Captain Dennis Vitree commander: we ſailed under a flag of truce, and though the French behaved with a good deal of politeneſs, yet we were almoſt ſtarved for want of proviſions. One biſcuit, and two ounces of pork a-day, being all our allowance, and half dead with cold, having but few clothes, and the veſſel being ſo ſmall, that the major part of us were obliged to be upon deck in all weathers. After a paſſage of ſix weeks, we at laſt, to our great joy, arrived at Plymouth, on the ſixth of November 1756. But theſe our troubles and hardſhips were not, as we expected, put to a period for ſome time; ſcruples ariſing to the Commiſſaries and Admiral there, about taking us on ſhore, as there was no cartel agreed on between the French and Engliſh, we were confined on board, until the determination of the Lords of the Admiralty ſhould be known; lying there in a miſerable

condition seven or eight days, before we received orders to disembark, which, when we were *permitted* to do, being ordered from thence, in different parties, to Totness, Kingsbridge, Newton Bushel, Newton Abbot in Devonshire, I was happy in being quartered at Kingsbridge, where I met with such civility and entertainment as I had for a long time been a stranger to.

In about four months we were again ordered to Plymouth-dock, to be draughted into other regiments; where, on being inspected, I was, on account of the wound I had received in my hand, discharged as *incapable* of *further* service; and was allowed the sum of six shillings to carry me home to Aberdeen, near the place of my nativity. But finding that sum insufficient to subsist me half the way, I was obliged to make my application to the honourable gentlemen of the city of York, who, on considering my necessity, and reviewing my manuscript on the transactions of the Indians, herein before mentioned, thought proper to have it printed for my own benefit, which they chearfully subscribed unto. And after disposing of several of my books through the shire, I took the first opportunity of going in quest of my relations at Aberdeen, where I received very barbarous usage and ill treatment, occasioned by complaining against the illegal practice of *kidnapping*, in the beginning of my book, which I shall hereafter finally discribe in the following pages.

A DIS-

A DISCOURSE ON KIDNAPPING:

With proper directions for tradesmen and others, to avoid slavery, when transported from their native country, by the instigation of perfidious traders.

TO make the subject of the ensuing pages the more accurate and distinct, I shall, in the *first* place, begin with the proceedings of the Magistrates of Aberdeen, when I arrived in that town in June 1758, after having completed the period of my slavery, as related in the beginning of this narrative. No sooner had I offered this little work to sale in that town, which was then my only means of subsistence, than I was arraigned in a summary complaint at the instance of the Magistrates, before their own tribunal, and carried by three or four town-officers to the bar of that tremendous Court of Judicature. The complaint exhibited against me contained in substance, "That I had been guilty of causing print, and of publishing and dispersing this scurrilous and infamous libel, reflecting greatly upon the characters and reputations of the merchants in Aberdeen, and on the town in general, without any ground or reason; whereby the corporation of the city, and whole members thereof, were greatly hurt and prejudged; and that therefore I ought to be exemplarily punished in my person and goods; and that the said book, and whole copies thereof, ought to be seized and publicly burnt." Such was the tenor of the complaint; and instead of allowing me an opportunity of taking advice, in time to prepare for my defence, I was hurried before them, and concussed by three

of impriſonment to make a declaration of a very extraordinary caſt, and dictated by themſelves; bearing, that "I had no ground for advancing and uttering the calumnies mentioned in my book againſt the merchants in Aberdeen, *but the fancy I took in my younger years, which ſtuck on my memory, though I did not find that I had reaſon ſo to do; nor did I believe theſe things to be true;* and that I was willing to contradict, in a public manner, what I had ſo advanced," &c.

After eliciting this declaration, the Magiſtrates, without adjournment, "appointed me to find caution to ſtand trial on the ſaid complaint at any time when called for, and impriſoned till performance; and ordered all the copies of my books to be lodged in the clerks chamber." My books were accordingly ſeized, and myſelf committed to the cuſtody of the town-officers, who conducted me to jail, and where I muſt have lain till next day, had not my landlord bailed me out. Next forenoon the Magiſtrates proceeded to ſentence on their own complaint; and accordingly they "ordained the offenſive leaves of all the copies of the ſaid book to be cut out, and publicly burnt at the market-croſs by the hands of the common hangman, the town-officers attending and publiſhing the cauſe of the burning; that I ſhould give in a ſigned declaration of much the ſame tenor with the former; begging pardon of the magiſtrates and merchants in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, and deſiring this my recantation to be inſerted in the York newſpapers, or any other newſpapers they ſhould think proper; and alſo ordained me to be incarcerated in the tolbooth, till I granted the ſaid declaration; and amerciated me in ten ſhillings Sterling, under the pain of impriſonment; and immediately after to remove out of town."

Such

Such was the ſentence of the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen againſt me, every particular of which was forthwith put in execution in the moſt rigorous manner. Had theſe judges had the leaſt reflection, they muſt have been conſcious, that, in every ſtep of their procedure, they were committing the groſſeſt abuſe. The complaint was made by their order and direction, and ſerved at their own inſtigation, by which means they were firſt the Accuſers, and afterwards the Condemners. The ſubject of it was ſo irrelevant, that they muſt have been ſenſible they were proſecuting an innocent man, for relating the melancholy particulars of his life, which ought to have rendered him rather an object of their protection, than of their malice. The facts he had ſet forth in his book, relating to the original of his misfortunes, were ſo flagrant, that, had he ſued for it, he was entitled to redreſs againſt the authors of his miſeries, from thoſe very Magiſtrates who now had the cruelty to aggravate them, by inflicting additional hardſhips. To pretend ignorance is a very lame excuſe. He muſt have been a very youthful Magiſtrate in 1758, who could not remember ſome circumſtances of a public branch of trade carried on in 1744. It is inconceivable, that, of a whole bench of Magiſtrates, no leſs than ſix in number, not one was of an age capable of recollecting what had happened only fourteen years before; nor is it to be preſumed, that, of almoſt all the inhabitants of Aberdeen, they alone, who had the beſt acceſs to know the traffic of the town, ſhould remain ignorant of a commerce, which was carried on in the market-places, on the high ſtreets, and in the avenues to the town, in the moſt public manner. Neither of theſe ſuppoſitions will eaſily gain credit. The Magiſtrates are commonly of ſuch an age, and ought to be men of ſuch reflection, as to render the firſt im-

poſſible; and the ſecond, for the reaſons given above, is equally incredible. Every impartial perſon muſt therefore be perſuaded, that the Magiſtrates were not unacquainted with that illicit ſpecies of trade openly carried on in that city about the year 1744, and prior to that period. To prove that there was ſuch an infamous traffic, I appeal to the depoſitions of ſeveral witneſſes, ſome of whom ſhared in the calamity by the loſs of their children and other relations. Theſe I have ſubjoined, as they occur in the proof taken on my part, by way of notes to the treatiſe.

From theſe vouchers it appears, that the trade of carrying off boys to the Plantations in America, and ſelling them there as ſlaves, was carried on at Aberdeen, as far down as the year 1744, with an amazing effrontery. It was not carried on in ſecret, or by ſtealth, but publicly, and by open violence. The whole neighbouring country were alarmed at it. They would not allow their children to go to Aberdeen, for fear of being kidnapped. When they kept them at home, emiſſaries were ſent out by the merchants, who took them by violence from their parents, and carried them off. If a child was amiſſing, it was immediately ſuſpected that he was kidnapped by the Aberdeen merchants; and, upon inquiry, that was often found to be the caſe; and ſo little pains were taken to conceal them, when in the poſſeſſion of the merchants, that they were driven in flocks through the town, under the inſpection of a keeper, who overawed them with a whip, like ſo many ſheep carrying to the ſlaughter. Not only were theſe flocks of unhappy children locked up in barns, and places of private confinement, but even the tolbooth and public work-houſes were made receptacles for them, and a town-officer employed in keeping them. Parties of worthleſs fellows, like preſs-gangs, were hired

hired to patrol the ſtreets, and ſeize by force ſuch boys as ſeemed proper ſubjects for the ſlave-trade. The practice was but too general. The names of no

Depoſitions of witneſſes on the part of Peter Williamſon.

ALEXANDER KING depones, That he knew the deceaſed James Williamſon, in Hirnley, in the pariſh of Aboyne: That the ſaid James Williamſon had a ſon, named Peter Williamſon, whom the Deponent knew when he was a boy; and he ſeeing the ſaid Peter Williamſon immediately at his emitting this depoſition, he is very ſure that he is the identical Peter Williamſon, whom he knew when he was a boy. Depones, That ſome years before the battle of Culloden, and, ſo far as he remembers, he believes it was upwards of four years before the battle of Culloden, it was the general report of the country, that when the ſaid Peter Williamſon, the Purſuer, was a little boy, going with a clipped head, he was taken at Aberdeen, and carried to Philadelphia, along with ſeveral other boys. Depones, That, about that time, the Deponent had a converſation with the ſaid James Williamſon concerning his ſon Peter, who told the Deponent ſeveral times, that he came into Aberdeen ſeeking his ſon Peter, but they would not let him near hand him. Depones, That the ſaid James Williamſon told the Deponent, that his ſon Peter was in cuſtody in a barn at Aberdeen, and they would not let him ſpeak to him; and afterwards, the ſaid James Williamſon told the Deponent, that the merchants of Aberdeen had carried away his ſon to Philadelphia, and ſold him for a ſlave. Depones, That he heard in the country by report, that John Elphingſton merchant in Aberdeen, and one Black a merchant there, whether James or George he does not remember, did deal in that way of carrying away boys. And further depones, That the ſaid James Williamſon told him, the Deponent, that his ſon Peter was carried away without his conſent, and he ſaw the father ſhed many ſalt tears on that account.

John

no less than fifteen merchants, concerned in this trade, are mentioned in the proof: And when so many are singled out by the witnesses, it is hardly to

JOHN WILSON depones, That he knew, and was well acquainted with James Williamson, in Hirnley, and with all his children, particularly his son Peter Williamson. Depones, That the said Peter Williamson having gone to Aberdeen, as the Deponent was informed, he was carried away therefrom to the Plantations; and when his father and friends missed him, they made search for him many ways in the country, but could not find him; and the said James Williamson went to Aberdeen in search of him, and, upon his return, he told the Deponent, that he had been at Aberdeen seeking his son Peter, but could not find him, and was informed that he was taken up at Aberdeen, and carried to the Plantations. Depones, That he believes, when the said Peter Williamson was amissing, he was about eight or ten years of age, and was a stout boy; and the Deponent seeing the said Peter Williamson immediately at emitting this deposition, he is sure that he is the identical person whom he knew, before he went away, to be James Williamson's son, and was at the said Peter Williamson's baptism.

FRANCIS FRASER of Findrack, Esq. depones, That, about twenty years ago, he knew the deceased James Williamson living in Upper Balnacraig, in the parish of Lumphanan, and that he heard the said James Williamson lived formerly in Hirnley, in the parish of Aboyne. Depones, He knew several of the said James Williamson's children, and he heard it was the practice of some of the merchants of Aberdeen to kidnap young children, and send them to the Plantations to be sold for slaves. Depones, He heard in the country, that the said James Williamson, or his wife, had gone into Aberdeen, and one of their sons, called Peter Williamson, had followed, and that James Smith, saddler in Aberdeen, had picked the said Peter; and the Deponent heard he was either put in prison, or put on board a ship, till the ship sailed.

Depones,

to be imagined it should be confined to these only, but that they must have omitted many, who were either principals, or abettors and decoys in this infamous

Depones, It was the voice of the country, that James Williamson and his wife regretted, or made a clamour for the loss of their son, not knowing what was become of him.

Robert Reid depones, That, to the best of his remembrance, he came to Aberdeen in the year 1740, to see his sister; that his sister proposed to the Deponent to go to a barn, to see the country boys who were going over to Philadelphia, and to carry home to their parents some accounts of them; that the Deponent accordingly went over, and heard music and a great noise in said barn, but the Deponent refused to go in, because it occurred to him, that he had heard in his own country that many boys had been decoyed by particular artifices of merchants (and he has heard John Burnet named) to go over to America. Depones, That he was told that the number of boys in the said barn was between thirty and forty. Depones, That some time after this, the Deponent's mother refused to allow the Deponent to go into Aberdeen, and mentioned as the reason of this refusal, that the son of one Williamson, a tenant of Lord Aboyne's, in Hirnley, and who lived within two miles of her, was amissing.

Isabel Wilson depones, That she went to Aberdeen in the year 1740, and lived there for seven years and a half, and that she heard it frequently reported in Aberdeen, that many young people of both sexes were decoyed by the artifices of merchants in Aberdeen, particularly John Burnet and John Elphingston, to engage to go over to America. That she once went into a malt-barn to see one Peter Ley, who had engaged to go to America, and might be about thirty years of age: that, upon that occasion, she saw the barn full of boys and men, to the number of fifty and upwards, as she believes, and that they had a piper amongst them; and that particularly

infamous traffic. Some of the witneſſes depone, That it was the general opinion, that the Magiſtrates themſelves had a hand in it. But what exceeds every

larly ſhe ſaw two young boys, called Elſmies, whom ſhe knew, and who were the ſons of a widow-woman there; the youngeſt of whom appeared to her to be about ten years of age, and the eldeſt about fourteen years. Depones, That after ſhe left Aberdeen and went back to her own country, ſhe has heard James Williamſon, tenant of Lord Aboyne, in the town of Hirnley, frequently complain that a ſon of his had been amiſſing, and he did not know what became of him.

Margaret Reid depones, That, about the year 1740 or 41, ſhe heard that many young boys were decoyed by merchants in Aberdeen, particularly John Burnet, to go over to America; and that, about that time, one Peter Ley, and two brothers of the name of Elſmie, who lived in Aboyne, in the Deponent's neighbourhood, were amiſſing, and were much regretted by their mother, and who were believed to have been carried over to America. Depones, That, in the pariſh of Aboyne, they were generally afraid to ſend their boys on errands to Aberdeen, for fear they ſhould be carried off. Depones, That ſhe did not know the age of the ſaid two Elſmies, but from their appearance, the one might be ten or twelve, and the other ſeven or eight years. Depones, That James Williamſon, tenant in Hirnley, of Aboyne, had a ſon who was amiſſing, whoſe name was Peter, and who the Deponent knew very well at that time, and who in the year 1740, might be nine or ten years of age, in the Deponent's opinion; that in that year he was ſent into Aberdeen to be under his aunt's care, his mother being dead: That ſoon thereafter he was amiſſing, and the Deponent has frequently heard his father regret him very much, who went into Aberdeen in ſearch of him, but could not find him; and that it was the general opinion of the country, and the opinion of his father alſo, that he was carried over to America.

George

every proof, and is equal to an acknowledgment, is, that, from a book of accounts, recovered on leading the proof, recording the expences laid out on

GEORGE JOHNSTON depones, That he was sent over to Virginia by an uncle, to be put under the care of a friend there; that the ship in which he sailed was called the Indian Queen, Captain Ferguson commander; and the said ship sailed from Aberdeen, and had above sixty boys on board, under indentures to serve for a number of years in Virginia: That, as the Deponent has been frequently informed, many of these boys were engaged by different artifices to enter into the said indentures, without the consent of their parents; and the Deponent particularly knows, that there were two brothers went over in the said ship, *to wit*, James and William Sheds, the eldest of whom was about fifteen years of age, and the other about six years; that these two brothers were bought by one John Graham, in Quantigo Creek, in Virginia; that the eldest served out the time of his indenture, which was five years, and the youngest was adjudged to serve the said John Graham until he was twenty-one years of age. Depones, That he has been well informed, that James Abernethy, John Elphingston, and John Burnet, merchants in Aberdeen, were very much employed in enga ing boys as aforesaid. Depones, That he knows that six or seven of the boys before mentioned were sold in Virginia to different masters; one of them, named Thomas Whitehead, was sold to the Deponent's master; that one of them, called James Shed, the youngest of the two Sheds above mentioned, was sold to a planter within three miles of where the Deponent lived; that he deserted his master's service, was apprehended, and whipped for so doing, and adjudged to serve for a year longer than otherwise he was obliged to do, he having deserted his service for the space of a month. Depones, That he knows that in the year 1745, there came a ship from Aberdeen to Virginia, and that he was particularly acquainted with Thomas Whitehead above mentioned, who, upon recollection, he remembers came

on one cargo of these unfortunate objects, it appears, that no less than sixty-nine boys and girls were carried over to America along with me, all of

came over a passenger in that ship, and not in the ship before mentioned; that the said Thomas Whitehead acquainted the Deponent, that he was engaged by James Abernethy, merchant in Aberdeen, to go to Virginia to serve there. Depones, That the boys brought over as above, and engaged to serve in Virginia, are in use to be maintained by their masters during the time of their service; and at the end of their service to get 50 *s.* Sterling, and have no other encouragement. Depones, That during their service, they are commonly very harshly used by their masters, and kept upon a very coarse diet, so that they are often forced to desperate measures, and to make away with themselves. Depones, That he returned to Britain in the end of the year 1745, and soon thereafter came to Aberdeen; and that there several of the parents of the children that had gone over with him, came to the Deponent, and with great anxiety inquired after their children; and particularly, one Helen Law asked the Deponent about her son; and at the same time poured out a great many curses upon the said James Abernethy, for decoying young boys, and sending them to America, and particularly her own son; and that this she did in presence of the said James Abernethy. And depones, That the Deponent was sent down by his master along with John Spriggs, to bring up the said Thomas Whitehead, together with several others of the boys that came along with him, in order for sale. Depones That he never saw the Pursuer in Virginia, but has good reason to believe he was there, not only because some of his nearest relations had told him so, but that he himself had conversed particularly with him, with regard to several persons and places there, of which he gave a just and true account.

Alexander Grigerson depones, That he and another boy (whose name he does not remember) were coming

of whom ſuffered the ſame fate of being ſhip-wrecked, and many of them, that of being ſold as ſlaves.

After

coming from the mill of Crathy, where they had been ſeeking their meat, and near to a birch-wood near to the kirk of Crathy, three countrymen on horſeback came up with them, but the Deponent knew none of them; and they aſked the Deponent and the other boy that was along with him, if they would go with them, and they would clothe them like gentlemen, and ſaid very kind things to them; but the Deponent, being elder than the other boy, made anſwer, That they would not go along with them; for it ſtruck the Deponent in the head, that perhaps he and the other boy were to be carried abroad, in reſpect of a rumour prevailing in the country, that young boys were carried abroad at that time. Depones, That upon their refuſing to go along with the ſaid three men, they ſaid they would force them; and thereupon alighted from their horſes; and while the ſaid three men were tying their horſes to growing trees, he, the Deponent, and the other boy, run away into the wood, and hid themſelves into a thick buſh, and the three men followed them, but did not find them, though they paſſed by within three yards of them; and the Deponent heard one of them ſay, "Go you that way, and I ſhall go this way, and if we can find them in this buſh, we can eaſily take them up." Depones, That he and the other boy ſtayed about half an hour in the buſh, till they found that the ſaid three men were gone away, and then he, the Deponent, and the other boy, went back to the mill of Crathy.

MARGARET ROSS depones, That about 17 years ago, ſhe had a ſon, named James Ingram, then about twelve years of age, whom ſhe ſent an errand to Aberdeen, and who at that time was taken up by Alexander Gray merchant in Aberdeen, in order to be carried to the Plantations; that he was detained in Aberdeen about eight days, but had liberty to go through the town with other boys, and they uſed to go in companies beating

After such a demonstration of my veracity, and the maltreatment I had formerly suffered, the reader, it is believed, cannot but reflect with some degree

ing the drum. Depones, That, on Sunday thereafter, she came to the Chapel in the Gallowgaté to hear worship, and she saw her son there, and got hold of him, and carried him home with her to Loanhead, which is about half a mile from Aberdeen. Depones, That she kept her said son at home for some time, until four men came out of Aberdeen for him, in the night-time, while the Deponent and her husband were in bed, and their son James lying at their feet. Depones, She knew none of these four men, but they told they were come from the said Alexander Gray, and wanted to carry the said James Ingram into Aberdeen. Depones, That when her son heard them saying so, he wept and shed tears; and they insisting, caused him to rise out of bed, and go along with them to Aberdeen, and his father followed them; and she was told by her husband, they went to Alexander Gray's house. Depones, That next day, the said John Ingram, her husband (as he informed the Deponent), came into Aberdeen, and met with Alexander Gray, and sought back his son; who said to him, That if he would pay seven pounds Scots, for the expence of maintaining his son while he was with Alexander Gray, in that case he should get back his son; but their circumstances could not allow them to pay the said seven pounds. Depones, That thereafter she came into Aberdeen, and met with Provost Aberdeen, who was then Provost of the town, and represented the case to him, and he sent for Alexander Gray, to come to the town-house and speak with the Provost. Depones, That when he came, the Provost asked him, if he had a boy of the Deponent's with him; to which Alexander Gray answered, that he had a boy, one James Ingram; whereupon the Provost said to him, That he did not think it right to take up any person's child without consent of parents, to which Alexander Gray answered, that the boy complained that his mother was not good to him; and the Provost replied,

degree of indignation on the iniquitous ſentence of the magiſtrates of Aberdeen, and commiſerate the diſmal ſituation to which I was reduced in conſequence of

plied, that a parent could not correct a child out of time, and deſired, that the Deponent ſhould get her ſon; whereupon Alexander Gray aſked, who would pay his charges for maintaining the boy while he had him; at ſame time Gray ſaid, he had given off the boy to one Mr. Copland, in the Gallowgate. Depones, That the Provoſt ſent an officer for Mr. Copland, who could not be found that day; but the Provoſt deſired the Deponent to go home, and return next day to the town-houſe, and ſhe ſhould get her ſon. Depones, That, on her return, the Provoſt ſent for Mr. Copland, and ordered him to give the Deponent her ſon; and he aſked, who would pay the charges of him; and the Provoſt replied, that when his father grew rich, he would cut ſtones for him, he being a ſtone-cutter to his employment. Depones, That Mr. Copland went along with her to a barn at the back-ſide of the town, where her ſon and ſeveral other boys were, the door whereof was open, and James Roſs an officer ſtanding thereat. Depones, That ſeveral of the boys came out of the barn, calling to Mr. Copland for ſhoes and other neceſſaries that they wanted, and her ſon came to the door to her, and Mr. Copland deſired to take from him a ſtriped waiſtcoat that he had given him; which was taken from him accordingly, and the Deponent put a plaid about her ſon above his ſhirt, and carried him home with her. Depones, That ſhe kept her ſon at home a conſiderable time with herſelf, thereafter he went into Aberdeen, and was taken up (as ſhe was informed) by one Lunen in Aberdeen, who went over with boys, a trader to the Plantations. Depones, That, before her ſon went away, he was put into the tolbooth of Aberdeen, and kept there for ſeveral weeks by the ſaid Mr. Lunen; and the Deponent went twice or thrice to the tolbooth, and ſaw her ſon there, and gave him her bleſſing before he went away, and ſhe never ſaw him ſince. Depones, That when ſhe

of that tyrannical decision. Stript at once of my all, and of my only means of subsistence, branded with the character of a vagrant and impostor, and stigmatized

went into Alexander Gray's shop, who caused first to apprehend her boy, to seek him back, the said Alexander Gray took her by the shoulders, and thrust her out of his shop. Depones, That, at the aforesaid time, when her son was taken up and carried away, provisions were very dear and scarce, and many were difficulted to get their bread; but the Deponent and her husband were in condition to have maintained her son, and never consented to his being carried off.—JOHN INGRAM depones, conforms to the said Margaret his spouse.

WILLIAM JAMIESON depones, That, in spring 1741, and for some years before and after, the Deponent resided with his family in the town of Old Meldrum, which he reckons to be twelve computed miles from Aberdeen; that the Deponent had a son, named John, who was, in the spring 1741, between ten and eleven years of age; that about that time, the said John his son having been amissing from his house, the Deponent was informed by the neighbours in Old Meldrum, the day after he was amissing, that they saw a man, whom they said was a servant to John Burnet, late merchant in Aberdeen, who was commonly called Bonny John, with the Deponent's said son, and two other boys much about the same age, travelling towards Aberdeen; and that his son would be sent to the Plantations: That, in two or three days after receiving this information, the Deponent went to Aberdeen, where he found the said John Burnet, who told him that he had several boys, but did not know whether the Deponent's son was amongst them; but said, that though he was, the Deponent would not get him back, because he was engaged with him; that the Deponent upon this left Mr. Burnet, and went down about the shore, where he had been informed the boys were out getting the air; that when he came there, he observed a great number of boys, he thinks about 60, diverting

ſtigmatized as ſuch in the Aberdeen Journal, baniſhed from the capital of the county wherein I was born, and left to the mercy of the wide world, loaded

diverting themſelves; that they were attended by a man, who, the Deponent was informed by the people of the town, was employed for that purpoſe by the ſaid John Burnet; that this man had a horſe-whip, and the Deponent obſerved him ſtriking the boys therewith when they went out of the crowd. Depones, That he obſerved his own ſon John amongſt theſe boys, and called upon him; that the boy came up to him, and told him that he would willingly go home with him if he was allowed; that immediately upon this, the perſon who was Mr. Burnet's overſeer, came up and gave the boy a laſh with his whip, and took him by the ſhoulder, and carried him amongſt the reſt, and immediately drove them off, and carried them to a barn, where the Deponent ſaw them locked in by the fore-mentioned overſeer, who put the key in his pocket: that the place where the boys were ſtanding, when the deponent ſpoke with his ſon as above deponed on, was on the ſhore, and the Deponent thinks, as far diſtant from the fore-mentioned barn, as from the Writers Court to the Nether-bow Port; that when the boys were marching up to the barn, the Deponent kept pace with the overſeer, who followed immediately after the boys, entreating of him to get liberty to ſpeak to his ſon; who anſwered him, that he ſhould get leave to ſpeak with him by and by when they were come to the barn: but when they came there, the overſeer locked the door as above mentioned, and refuſed the Deponent acceſs; that the Deponent never ſaw his ſon after this: that the Deponent, in paſſing through the town of Aberdeen after his ſon was locked up from him, was told by ſeveral trades-people, and others to whom he had told the ſtory of his ſon, that it would be in vain for him to apply to the magiſtrates to get his ſon liberate; becauſe ſome of the magiſtrates had a hand in thoſe doings, as well as the ſaid John Burnet; upon which the Deponent went home. That in ſummer thereafter,

loaded with all the infamy that malice could invent. What a deplorable ſituation this! I could not help conſidering myſelf in a more wretched ſtate,

thereafter, the Deponent came up to Edinburgh, to take advice what he ſhould do in this matter, being certainly informed by the voice of the country, that the ſhip on board of which his ſon was put, had ſailed for Maryland about a fortnight or ſo after that day when the Deponent was at Aberdeen, and ſaw his ſon as before mentioned. That after the Deponent came up to Edinburgh, he was recommended to the deceaſed Mr. William Seton, writer to the Signet, who gave him a libelled ſummons againſt the ſaid John Burnet, before the Lords of Council and Seſſion, for reſtitution of the Deponent's ſon; that none of the meſſengers in Aberdeen would execute the ſummons againſt Mr. Burnet, becauſe they would not diſoblige him for any thing the Deponent could give them; which obliged the Deponent to ſend a meſſenger from Old Meldrum to Aberdeen; that the Deponent having inſiſted in this ſummons, the ſaid John Burnet applied to the late Earl of Aberdeen, who ſent for the Deponent's father, his tenant; and the Deponent's father came and carried him to the houſe of Haddo, where the Earl and John Burnet were at that time; that, at this meeting, it was agreed, that the ſaid John Burnet ſhould give the Deponent his bond to reſtore his ſon to him, within the ſpace of a twelvemonth, under the penalty of 50*l.* Sterling; that the Deponent did not get the ſaid bond, but that the Earl of Aberdeen promiſed that he would cauſe John Burnet to grant the bond; that the Deponent thinks, to the beſt of his remembrance, this meeting was in the end of ſummer 1742; that ſhortly thereafter, Lord Aberdeen died, and the Deponent having inliſted as a ſoldier, was ſent over to Flanders, where he ſerved ſome years, and upon his return John Burnet was become bankrupt, and had left the country; and the Deponent knows not whether his ſon is dead or alive, having never heard of him ſince he was carried from Aberdeen, and never got the bond before mentioned from John Burnet.

GEORGE

ſtate, to be reduced to ſubmit to ſuch barbarities in a civilized country, and the place of my nativity, than when a captive among the ſavage Indians, who boaſt not of humanity.

Conſcious

GEORGE LESLIE depones, That, about the year 1742, it was the current report, That Hugh Mackie ſtabler in Aberdeen, was employed by John Burnet merchant in Aberdeen for taking up boys, that they might be carried to the Plantations. Depones, That the ſaid Hugh Mackie, with a gang of five or ſix boys along with him, was at the back of the Gallowgate, where the Deponent was working as a maſon's ſervant, and they obſerving a boy coming down the ſtreet, they took hold of him; but the boy ſtruggled and got out of their gripes; whereupon Hugh Mackie kicked the ſaid boy with his foot, and turned him into the loch, and the boy being hurt, was confined in the houſe of Harry Black ſtabler, for eight or ten days, till he recovered; but the Deponent does not know what became of that boy afterwards. Depones, That he ſaw a parcel of boys and girls confined in a barn in the Green, before they were ſent to the Plantations. Depones, That he believes they were of different ages, from ten to fifteen years.

CHRISTIAN FINLATER depones, That, ſome years before the battle of Culloden, Hugh Mackie ſtabler in the Gallowgate of Aberdeen, and James Wilſon ſtabler there, were employed for taking up boys to be ſent to the Plantations; and one time ſhe ſaw the ſaid Hugh Mackie driving a parcel of boys before him down the Gallowgate, with a ſtaff in his hand, and ſhe has ſeen him chaſing boys in at cloſes. Depones, She ſaw ſome boys looking out at the window of a barn in the Green, and ſhe reckons they were kept there till they ſhould be ſent to the Plantations; and ſhe heard there were other places in town where boys were kept until they ſhould be ſent away. Depones, That, according to her knowledge and belief, ſome of theſe boys would have been twelve years of age, others of them thirteen, and ſome fifteen, and ſome leſs;

Conſcious of my own integrity, and fired with reſentment at the indignities poured upon me by this arbitrary decree, I was, by the advice and aſſiſtance of

leſs; and ſhe ſaw among them, lads from the Highlands of the ſize of men, and women alſo; and the boys were generally ſtrapping boys. Depones, That ſhe heard one Mr. Copland in Aberdeen was concerned in employing Hugh Mackie and James Wilſon for the above purpoſe.

Robert Brand depones, That, about the month of June 1758, he, the Deponent, ſaw James Thomſon, Dean of Guild's officer, carrying out of George Mackie's houſe (where Peter Williamſon was quartered at that time) a parcel of books, bound or ſtitched in blue paper; the Deponent does not know the number of them. but James Thomſon had his arms extended full of them. Depones, That thereafter he ſaw a ſervant-maid of George Mackie's coming down ſtairs of Mr. Mackie's houſe, after the town-officer had come out of it, and the Deponent aſked her what was the matter; and ſhe anſwered her, that it was the town-officers carrying away Mr. Williamſon's books to the clerks chamber, where Mr. Williamſon was himſelf, and this was the ſecond burden of them.

George Mackie depones, That two or three of the town-officers came to the Deponent's own houſe, and he ſaw them carry away all the copies of the ſaid pamphlets or books, and the ſaid Peter Williamſon was along with the officers, and they were carried to the town-houſe. Depones, That he ſaw ſome of theſe copies drop by the way, as the officers were carrying them to the town-houſe, but he does not know how many copies were ſo dropped, neither did he ſee Peter Williamſon take up any of the dropt copies. Depones, That when Peter Williamſon was appointed by the Magiſtrates to find bail for his appearance to ſtand trial on the complaint againſt him, at the inſtance of the Dean of Guild and Procurator-fiſcal, and when he was put in priſon till he ſhould find the ſaid bail, he, the ſaid Peter Williamſon,

of ſome worthy friends, induced to raiſe a proceſs of oppreſſion and damages againſt theſe my judges, before the Court of Seſſion, the ſupreme tribunal of

ſon, ſent for the Deponent to ſpeak to him, and to bail him: Accordingly the Deponent came up the tolbooth-ſtair, and found him confined in that part of the priſon oppoſite to the door of the court-room, and the Deponent ſpoke to the ſaid Peter Williamſon through the bars of the door of the place where he was confined; and that the ſaid Peter Williamſon deſired the Deponent to become bail for him, and he the Deponent became bail for his appearance before the Magiſtrates, and he thinks he ſigned ſomething for that purpoſe, and thereupon the ſaid Peter Williamſon was ſet at liberty; and the Deponent had him over to his houſe, and preſented him before the Magiſtrates next day. Depones, That, after the Magiſtrates had pronounced ſentence againſt the ſaid Peter Williamſon, he came over to the Deponent's houſe, and told the Deponent, that he had been threatened to ſign a paper, obliging himſelf to go out of the town, and that if he did not ſign the paper, he was threatened to be again impriſoned; thereafter, the ſaid Peter Williamſon hurried himſelf away out of the Deponent's houſe in leſs than a quarter of an hour, leaving behind him ſome of his baggage, which he deſired to be ſent after him to Newcaſtle, and which the Deponent ſent to him accordingly. Depones, That he was an inhabitant of Aberdeen from the year 1740, and that about the year 1741, downward to the year 1744, it was a cuſtom for ſeveral of the merchants of Aberdeen, to carry on a trade of tranſporting young boys and women to the Plantations, of different ages. Depones, That he knew the perſons after-named were concerned in that way of trade, *viz.* George Garioch, John Elphingſton, John Burnet, Alexander Gray, Lewis Gordon, and Andrew Logie, all merchants in Aberdeen, and James Smith ſaddler there.

James Rattray depones, That ſome more than three years ago, the Purſuer, Peter Williamſon, was in Aberdeen,

of juſtice. And as the Lord Ordinary was pleaſed to allow both parties a proof at large, under the ſanction of his authority, I ventured to reviſit the city

Aberdeen, and being carried before the Magiſtrates by the town-officers, the Deponent, as he underſtood Peter Williamſon was a ſtranger, having been ſeveral times in company with him before that day, he went into the court-houſe, where he heard the clerk and ſome of the Magiſtrates, but cannot particularly ſay which of them, challenge the ſaid Peter Williamſon for ſelling and diſtributing the pamphlet libelled, reflecting upon the merchants of Aberdeen as Kidnappers, and that they uſed very rough language to the ſaid Peter Williamſon, but he does not remember the expreſſions, not having given great attention thereto, at leaſt, the expreſſions have now eſcaped his memory. Depones, That before the Deponent left the court, he ſaw the Purſuer carried off by the town-officers by order of the court, but knows not where they carried him to, further than that next day, or the day thereafter, the Deponent happening to be in the houſe of George Mackie innkeeper, he was informed by the ſaid George Mackie, that Peter Williamſon was obliged to leave the town; and that he, the ſaid George Mackie, had become bail to preſent him to the Magiſtrates any time within ſix months, under a penalty; and that both Mackie and his wife ſaid to the Deponent, that he had been very ill uſed by the Magiſtrates.

Depoſitions on the part of the Magiſtrates.

George Garioch, merchant in Aberdeen, depones, That about the year 1740, and forward for ſome years, ſeveral of the gentlemen merchants in Aberdeen, were in uſe to indent ſervants for America; and if any young boys or girls of under-age were ſo indented, and that any of their parents or relations came to claim them back, even after they were indented and atteſted, they were, ſo far as the Deponent knows or remembers, delivered back to their parents or relations, upon paying up what money the merchant had diſburſed on their account. Depones,

city from which I had been formerly baniſhed, where, in ſpite of all the diſadvantages with which power, wealth, and influence could overwhelm me,

pones, That he was informed, that, unleſs a ſervant was atteſted, their indentures were of no avail, and which was his own opinion. Depones, That ſeveral ſervants were indented in the years 1740 and 1741, at which time proviſions were ſcarce in this country; that many ſervants were turned off from their maſters, who could not afford them daily bread for their work, which forced ſundry perſons to come from the country to Aberdeen, and indent; and on that account, the Deponent himſelf, at that period, indented ſeverals out of charity, and, for the above reaſons, believes he was the firſt, at that time of ſcarcity, that began to indent ſuch ſervants. And being interrogate by the ſaid Peter Williamſon, whether or not he employed people to go and inliſt ſuch kind of ſervants through the country; or if all the ſervants he inliſted about that period, came to the Deponent's houſe voluntarily, to be indented by him? Depones, That he never employed perſons to go and bring perſons to be indented as ſervants at his houſe, but ſuch as he indented came of themſelves, or with their companions, voluntarily to him; and that ſome of thoſe who had indented, he has afterwards diſcharged, without exacting any money of them. And being further interrogate by the ſaid Peter Williamſon, whether or not there were any boys or children from eight to fourteen years of age that indented themſelves with the Deponent, or did their parents, after they were indented, come and demand them back from you after they were indented? Or did you not ſend over boys of that age, after they deſired themſelves to be releaſed, or that their parents or relations had come and demanded them back? and were any of ſuch young boys or children offered up by their parents or relations to you to be indented for ſcarcity of bread, who were to your knowledge the maſter of ſuch ſervants, who diſmiſſed them as before ſaid? And whether or not did you ſell ſuch indented boys in America, for what number of years,

me, I was enabled to lead such a proof, as convinced that most honourable and impartial bench to which I now appealed, that I had met with the highest

years, and what sums did you receive for them? Depones, That he never indented any boy or girl of eight or ten years of age, except when the parents of such children indented with him likewise. Depones, That he never sent off any boys or girls of under-age indented with him, that had been demanded back by their parents or friends. Depones, That never did he indent any boys or girls in town without their parents consent. Depones, That several servants were indented as aforesaid to the Deponent, who told the Deponent they were turned off by their masters for want of bread, but does not remember the names of their masters. Depones, That he went not to America himself, but that their indentures were sold there from 5 *l.* to 8 *l.* Sterling; that such as were of under-age might be indented for five or six years, and such as were of full age only for four.

ALEXANDER GORDON, shipmaster in Aberdeen, depones, That it has been a practice for to indent servants to be carried from Aberdeen to the Plantations in America, from the year 1735, downward to the year 1753; and that during the foresaid period, he has been concerned himself in that trade of indenting, for his own account and of his owners, servants from Aberdeen, and carrying them over to the American Plantations, in different ships commanded by him on different voyages, *viz.* in the brig Diligence, to Philadelphia, and the Ruby, to Virginia and Maryland. Depones, That he has carried over boys, but not under fourteen years of age, and that no indentures can be taken for servants of fourteen years of age to continue longer than the servants attain the age of twenty-one years, by the custom of Maryland; and that the price he generally received for such servants, in Maryland and at Philadelphia, amounted to about 10 *l.* Sterling over head.

ALEXANDER

higheſt injury and injuſtice, and induced them to decern a ſuitable redreſs.—For the ſatisfaction of the reader the ſubſtance of this proof is ſubjoined, as before mentioned.

The

ALEXANDER GRAY, merchant in Aberdeen, depones, That it was a cuſtom nineteen or twenty years ago, and ſince, that ſeveral merchants in the town of Aberdeen, were in practice of hiring boys, girls, and other ſervants, atteſted before the magiſtrates of Aberdeen, or ſome other juſtice of peace, to be carried to America, or other of his Majeſty's Plantations, to be diſpoſed of there. *Cauſa ſcientiæ*, the Deponent dealt in that way himſelf.

HELEN LAW depones, That about the years 1740, 1741, 1742, and ſince, ſeveral of the merchants of Aberdeen were in practice to inliſt boys to be indented, to carry over as ſervants to the Plantations, *viz.* George Black, Alexander Gray, George and Andrew Gariochs, Mr. Copland, James Abernethy, John Elphingſton, all merchants in Aberdeen, and Capt. Robert Ragg ſhipmaſter, and James Smith ſaddler there; and that theſe ſeveral merchants have employed the Deponent to furniſh diet to boys and ſervants that had indented with them. Depones, That about ſeventeen years paſt the month of May laſt, the Deponent was employed to furniſh diet to a parcel of boys and ſervants that were afterwards carried over from Aberdeen to the Plantations by the ſaid Captain Robert Ragg. Depones, That there were nine of the young boys, whom ſhe dieted at that time, that were never confined, but that ſeveral of the big boys and men, who were threatening to run off, that were afterwards confined in priſon, or in the workhouſe of Aberdeen, for ſome ſhort time before Capt. Ragg ſailed. Depones, That among the boys that were never confined, and dieted at her houſe, there was one boy named Peter M'William, who would have been upwards of twelve years of age, a long ſtowie clever boy (by which ſhe means a growthie boy). Depones, That theſe boys came not all at one time to diet with her; ſhe began

The following pages, when duly considered, will be obvious to the meaneſt capacity, as the ſubject is entirely calculated to open the eyes of the deluded

with ſome of them a little after Martinmas, and they were continuing to come to her till within a day or two before the ſailing of the ſhip in May thereafter; and that their weekly board was twenty-pence a-week for each, and that the boy Peter M'William was ſome weeks dieted by her. Depones, That there were four or five of thoſe boarded with her that were delivered back by the merchants to their friends, on paying the charges they had coſt the merchants. Depones, That for five weeks before the ſhip commanded by Captain Robert Ragg ſailed from the harbour of Aberdeen, ſhe lay at the key of Tory, and the boys were carried over to the ſhip: during which ſpace the Deponent went over and hired a houſe at Tory, in which houſe ſhe made their diet, and carried it to them on board the ſaid ſhip during that ſpace: and the Deponent was informed, that the reaſon why the ſhip lay at Tory, was, that ſhe was neeped, and had no water to carry her over the bar. And being further interrogate, If Peter Williamſon, whom ſhe now ſees before her, is the identical perſon that dieted at the time foreſaid with her, then named Peter M'William? Depones, That ſhe cannot ſwear that he is the ſame perſon, for ſeveral of theſe boys returned from the Plantations a few years after, whom ſhe did not know again when ſhe ſaw them, by reaſon of the change at that time. Depones, That ſhe had a ſon of her own that the year before had been carried over by James Abernethy, merchant in Aberdeen, whom ſhe had aſked back, and Mr. Abernethy agreed at three different times to deliver him back to her; but he was reſolute to go, and went accordingly. And being interrogate by the ſaid Peter Williamſon, whether or not the Deponent was not always in uſe to aſk leave of the keepers on board of the ſhip, for the boys to come aſhore any time when they lay at Tory, and ſuch liberty was only obtained on the ſaid Helen Law's obliging her to return them back on ſhipboard? Depones, That ſhe did

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luded poor, many of whom have ſuffered tribulation for the loſs of their children, whom the ties of nature bind every Chriſtian parent to preſerve and

aſk leave of the keepers on board of the ſhip for ſome of the ſaid boys to come aſhore with her, which ſhe accordingly obtained, and did become bound to return them back to the ſhip, and on her verbal obligement or promiſe, ſhe was allowed to bring ſome of them even over to the town of Aberdeen with her, and always returned them again on ſhipboard. Depones, That ſhe knows nothing about their parents conſenting to their indentures, as ſome might have had parents and ſome of them none, and ſeverals of them were begging their bread through the town. But depones, That when any of their parents and relations claimed them, they were given them by the merchants on paying their charges.

James Robertson, ſtabler in Aberdeen, depones, That, about ſeventeen years paſt the month of May laſt, the Deponent was employed by James Smith ſaddler, as keeper of ſeveral young boys, the youngeſt of whom would have been about ten years of age, and ſome of them ſixteen and upwards, who were indented, and their indentures atteſted by the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen, to be carried over to the Plantations in America, along with other ſervants, both men and women of full age, alſo indented and atteſted by the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen, to be ſhipped on board a ſhip lying at the harbour of Aberdeen, then commanded by Captain Robert Ragg, ſhipmaſter in Aberdeen, and which ſhip was carried over to Tory, where ſhe lay and received the ſaid boys on board of her. The Deponent was ſome time afterwards employed by the ſaid James Smith to go over and ſtay on board the ſaid ſhip as a keeper of the ſaid boys and other ſervants, to the beſt of his remembrance, for the ſpace of twelve or fourteen days, till the ſhip ſailed, and he went with them in ſaid ſhip out of the harbour, till the ſhip was in the road before Aberdeen, from whence he returned back to the town of Aberdeen. Depones, That, during the time the ſaid James Robert-

and cheriſh as their own lives: For, as it is abſurd to imagine that any parent, though in ever ſo neceſſitous a condition, would diſpoſe of their own fleſh and

ſon was on ſhipboard as above, there was alſo another keeper, named Robert Adam, along with him, employed likewiſe to take care of the ſaid boys and ſervants. Depones, That all the night they were confined, and put to their beds in the hold of the ſhip, but all day had liberty to go upon the deck, and even to play them aſhore, their keepers always looking after them; and ſome of them allowed to go to Helen Law's houſe, to help her on board with victuals for themſelves and others. Depones, That among the boys under the Deponent's, and the other keeper's care, there was a boy of about fourteen years of age, who was called Peter M'William. Depones, That Peter Williamſon, whom he ſees preſently before him, is the ſame perſon that was then named Peter M'William, as he preſently apprehends, but will not ſwear poſitively that he is the ſame perſon; for that Peter W'William had black brows, and was pock-marked, and ſo is Peter Williamſon whom he now ſees; but does not remember any boy then aboard called Peter Williamſon; and that Peter M'William was a ſtout, clever, rough lown, and very ill to guide.

James Smith, ſaddler in Aberdeen, depones, That, to the beſt of the Deponent's memory, about nineteen or twenty years ago, but cannot be abſolutely poſitive about the preciſe time, he was employed by John Elphingſton merchant in Aberdeen, and Captain Robert Ragg ſhipmaſter in Aberdeen, and Mr. Walter Cochran town-clerk depute of Aberdeen, in partnerſhip with them, to make leather-caps, and pay for diet, and to pay tailors for clothing furniſhed to ſeveral young boys and other ſervants, that had entered into indentures; atteſted before the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen, with the above-named Captain Robert Ragg, to be carried from Aberdeen to America to be diſpoſed of at Philadelphia. Depones, That he accordingly furniſhed the ſaid ſervants with leather-caps, and paid for their clothing and diet, for

and blood to ſtrangers, who make a prey of innocent children, to accumulate their ill-gotten wealth, and ſupport their grandeur, by conveying the unhappy

for all which he was afterwards repaid by the abovenamed gentleman. Depones, That, among thoſe ſervants that were ſo indented, there was one boy named Williamſon, of about 12 years of age, and another boy of the ſame ſurname, of about 13 or 14 years of age, to the beſt of the Deponent's knowledge and remembrance; but depones, He does not know any of the ſaid two boys Chriſtian names. Depones, That he has not in his cuſtody any accounts or writings relative to the ſervants that were ſent from Aberdeen to the Plantations in the year 1753: But depones, That the account ſhewn to him at deponing, and exhibited by Walter Cochran, town-clerk depute of Aberdeen, conſiſting of twelve leaves, with a docquet on the laſt page thereof, dated 26th July 1743, is a juſt and true account, all wrote with the Deponent's hand-writing; and the Deponent received from the ſaid Walter Cochran payment of the balance of ſaid account, conform to his receipt and diſcharge: and the whole of the articles in ſaid account, and names therein inſert, are genuine and true as wrote by the Deponent, and which account is ſigned by the Deponent and Commiſſioner at deponing. Depones, He heard the ſhip the Planter, Captain Robert Ragg maſter, who carried ſervants for the Plantations in the year 1743, was ſtranded on Cape May.

WALTER COCHRAN, town-clerk depute of Aberdeen, depones and produces an account, wrote book-ways, and bound in marble paper, entitled, Account Bailie William Fordyce and Company to James Smith, which account begins the third day of December 1742, and conſiſts of twelve leaves, and upon the laſt page thereof is a diſcharge by James Smith, dated the 26th July 1743, granting the receipt from the Deponent of payment of the balance of 18*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.* Sterling, being full and complete payment of the above and foregoing accounts; and therefore diſcharging the Deponent and Company of

happy victims to the remoteſt parts of the globe, where they can have no redreſs for the injuries done them, theſe cautions are offered to prevent their falling into the ſnare.

Senſible

all he could demand of them: upon the ſecond page of which account, there is charged a ſix-pence for a pair of ſtockings to Peter Williamſon, and five-pence for a woollen cap to ditto, as diſburſed 8th January 1743; and on the third page, there is charged one ſhilling and three-pence Sterling, for five days board of Williamſon, as diſburſed 13th January 1743. Depones, That he received the foreſaid account from James Smith, ſaddler in Aberdeen, and paid him the balance contained in the foreſaid account, and which account is ſigned by the Deponent and Commiſſioner, and produced with the report; and further adds, that the foreſaid account has been lying by the Deponent for ſeveral years paſt, he being one of the company that were owners of the ſhip the Planter, Robert Ragg maſter, who tranſported ſervants to the Plantations, and was wrecked at Cape May.

William Gibson, carpenter in Tory, depones, That before the 12th of May 1743, the Deponent was hired a ſhip-carpenter to Captain Robert Ragg, to ſail a voyage from Aberdeen to Virginia, on board his ſhip, called the Planter, and that there were ſhipped a number of boys, girls, and other ſervants, under indenture, as he heard; but that in their voyage their ſhip was ſtranded on Cape May; but ſome time after, all the ſervants they carried over were ſafely recovered, and a ſloop came down from Philadelphia, and carried all of them up there.

John Dickson, mariner in Stonehive, depones, That the deponent, to the beſt of his remembrance, was engaged as a ſailor in the year 1743, to ſerve under Captain Ragg, to navigate his ſhip called the Planter, from Aberdeen for Virginia. Depones, That

the

Senſible I am, that what I have already ſaid againſt my firſt proſecutors, quadrates with the truth in every particular, and that many unfortunate perſons have been involved in miſery, and decoyed into ſlavery and bondage, as well as myſelf. Separated from their deareſt relations, and obliged tamely to ſubmit to the caprice and chaſtiſement of arbitrary maſters, who have leſs pity and compaſſion on them than on their beaſts of burden. Hard fate to ſuffer all this! harder ſtill to be proſecuted for telling the intereſting tale! I ſpeak this by wofu! experience, as well as from the knowledge of the hard fate of ſeveral young people, in the neighbourhood of my nativity, whither I had gone in queſt of my relations. After ſo long an abſence, my perſonal appearance muſt no doubt recall to the memory of my friends, the manner of my being carried off in my infancy, and they muſt receive me with wonder and amazement, whom

the ſaid ſhip, on her arrival from London, in order to perform the ſaid voyage, lay at the pier of Tory until ſhe ſailed from ſaid river on her voyage, as the Depenent remembers, on the 12th of May 1743, and took in her cargo there, which conſiſted of ſome parcels of goods, and ſeveral ſervants, being men, women, and boys, who, he believes, were all indented as ſervants, for behoof of the contractors with them, to be diſpoſed of in Virginia: That the ſhip was, before her arrival, ſtranded to the northward of Cape May, upon a little iſland in the province of New Jerſey, where ſhe became a wreck. Depones, That how ſoon the ſhip ſtruck, ſo many of the crew took out a yoal to diſcover a landing place, and the reſt of the crew, and ſome of the ſervants, went into the long boat, and got ſafe aſhore; and ſome of them returned with the long boat, and brought out the reſt of the ſervants; and afterwards a ſloop came down very ſoon, and carried them up to Philadelphia.

they

they had for many years deemed for loſt. The ſatisfaction my preſence gave them, of which they had been ſo long deprived, it is not to be expreſſed; and the comfort I enjoyed in the proſpect of ſeeing my neareſt relations, was in ſome degree a ſolace for the miſeries I had undergone. But, even in this, hard fortune purſued me ſtill, and my troubles were not yet at an end. New enemies ſtarted up, who, as if the abettors of thoſe who laid the ſnare for me when a child, now contrived a new ſpecies of captivity for me, when I was a man. They begrudged me my liberty, and the freedom I took to relate my misfortunes; in order, therefore, to ſuppreſs a diſagreeable truth, they again deprived me of it for a time; deſtroyed my means of ſubſiſtence, and loaded me with infamy and reproach; from which, thanks to the juſtice of my cauſe and the integrity of my judges, I have at laſt been honourably delivered. KIDNAPPING, a ſpecies of trade followed by theſe monſters of impiety for the luſt of gain, may be compared to the practices of the ſavages formerly mentioned, who, to gratify their propenſity to miſchief, cut, mangle, burn, and deſtroy, all the innocent people they can catch. And ſurely the guilt of the kidnapped muſt be much greater than that of the ſavage race, who boaſt not of humanity. If the latter commit ſuch crimes, it is againſt thoſe they imagine to be their enemies, for the ſake of plunder; but the former are void of all excuſe. What then can ſome of the *worthy* merchants of Aberdeen ſay for themſelves. Prompted by avarice, and deſpiſing the laws of God and all civilized nations, have they not been guilty of this atrocious crime? And does not the blood of the innocent, ſeveral of whom have died under the hands of their cruel maſters, cry againſt them for vengeance? Certain it is, that this execrable practice of kidnapping was put in execution

from

from the year 1740 and downwards, by several merchants in that city, some of whom, for reasons too well known, have since deserted their country. I remember that much about that time, there were idle fellows employed by those traders, to cajole and decoy men, women, and children, to serve in the Plantations in America. The poor deluded parents being ignorant of the nature of the traffic, and equally ignorant how or where to apply to for redress, were obliged to rely on the fair promises of the merchants, whose delusions proved fatal to many of the unhappy victims, who were even come of age, and much more so to infants from six to fourteen years, who were incapable to contract for themselves, and transported without the knowledge or consent of their parents. These were left to lament the loss of their children; many of them without the consolation of knowing what had become of them; and who could only imagine that an untimely end had been their fate. Such, it is to be supposed, were the dreadful apprehensions that filled the eyes of my aged parent with tears, from whom I was thus separated in my non-age. What heart can be unmoved with pity at the relation of so dismal a tale? Who can think, without horror, on these monsters of impiety, who could make a traffic of their fellow-creatures in a Christian country, almost as openly as is practised on the coast of Guinea? *Quis talia fando temperit a lachrimis?*—And here the following queries occur, which will tend to explain the meaning of kidnapping.

I. Whether or not, when children are either carried off by force, or decoyed by fraud, without the consent, or without the knowledge, of their parents, in a state of infancy, or under the years of pupillarity, and incapable of entering into a contract

contract or indenture, may not this be called KIDNAPPING?

II. Whether or not, the ſhutting theſe children up in priſons, or places of confinement, in order to make ſure of them as a prey, and conceal them from their parents, is not contrary to law, and an atrocious crime?

III. If theſe proceedings were agreeable to law, and the inclinations of the perſons ſo impriſoned, what occaſion was there for confinement? When a perſon inliſts himſelf in any ſervice as a volunteer, where is the neceſſity of putting him in priſon? But,

IV. If theſe proceedings were contrary to all laws, human and divine, what puniſhment can be inflicted adequate to the crime?

My betrayers well knew the impracticability of making children abide by any obligation extorted from them, or any agreement to which they were decoyed; and therefore they confined us in barns, on board ſhips, and other convenient places; and, to make our time paſs away the more inſenſibly and free of reflection, they entertained us with muſic, cards, and other childiſh diverſions, till ſuch time as they had got their complement, and the ſhip was ready to ſail.

Various were the arts and ſtratagems made uſe of to inveigle theſe unhappy creatures. Some were inſnared by receiving a triſle of money, and then told they were fairly inliſted. Others were tempted with the bait of great promiſes, being told that they were going to a country where they ſhould live like gentlemen; that they ſhould ride in their coaches, with ſeveral negroes to attend them; that they ſhould poſſeſs large plantations of their own, and ſoon be in a condition to come home and viſit their friends with great pomp and grandeur. By theſe ſpecious and artful inſinuations, many unthinking

thinking giddy youths were ſeduced into ſlavery, relying on promiſes which were meant only to inſnare, and not to enrich them. Some were carried off from their parents by violence, and whipt into the flock, like ſtrayed ſheep going to the ſhambles. All theſe methods, and many more, were practiſed in this execrable branch of traffic, of which the reader will find a proof to his conviction, by peruſing the depoſitions formerly inſerted.

How far theſe ſpecious promiſes were fulfilled, will appear from the treatment we met with when landed in America. On our arrival there, our merchant, or ſupercargo, who had the charge of us, took the earlieſt opportunity to diſpoſe of us to the planters, ſome of whom will buy ten, others twenty, to labour in their plantations and cultivate their ground. Thus were we driven through the country like cattle to a Smithfield market, and expoſed to ſale in public fairs, as ſo many brute beaſts. When thus maltreated by our countrymen, what reaſon had we to expect better uſage from our new maſters, whoſe property we now were? Luckily for me, I fell into the hands of one of my own countrymen, who had undergone the ſame fate himſelf, and who uſed me in a more tender manner than many of my companions in ſlavery had to boaſt of. No thanks, however, to my Kidnappers; for if the devil had come in the ſhape of a man to purchaſe us, with money enough in his pocket, it would have been as readily accepted as of the honeſteſt and moſt humane man in the world. Beſides, theſe children are ſometimes ſold to barbarous and cruel maſters, from whom they often make an elopement, to avoid the harſh uſage they daily meet with; but as there is ſcarce a poſſibility of making a total eſcape, they are generally taken and brought back, and for every day they have been abſent, they are compelled to ſerve a week, for every week a month,

and

and for every month a year; they are beſides obliged to pay the coſt of advertiſing, apprehending, and bringing them back; which often protracts their ſlavery four or five years longer. But a more ſhocking caſe often occurs; ſome of theſe poor deluded ſlaves, after groaning for ſome time under the yoke of tyranny and oppreſſion, with only a diſtant proſpect of relief, in order to put an end to their bondage, put a period to their lives at the ſame time. What a diſmal reflection this, to be the inſtrument of driving an innocent helpleſs creature to deſpair, and ruining him both in ſoul and body!

The planters themſelves are generally of an idle indolent diſpoſition, not caring to fatigue themſelves with work. As ſoon therefore as they can raiſe 20 or 30 *l.* they purchaſe ſervants from the European merchants, whom they make ſlaves, ſome for four or five, others for ſeven years. Theſe they ſend to the woods, or employ in other kinds of hard labour, and oblige them to perform a certain taſk of work in a day; in which if they fail, they are ſeverely puniſhed by their maſters, who review their work at night. Nor dare the ſervant, when he is thus chaſtized, preſume to vindicate himſelf, for fear of giving a new offence to this unrelenting tyrant, whoſe humour muſt be indulged, even at the expence of ſtrokes and blows. This is generally the caſe throughout the different colonies in North America; but more eſpecially in Maryland and Virginia. Theſe two are the beſt markets to which our European merchants can reſort for the ſale of their illicit cargoes of ſlaves. Here they may barter them for tobacco, the ſtaple commodity of theſe colonies, upon which they have an immenſe return of profit.

The ſervants in Maryland are moſtly convicts, who have been baniſhed their native country for miſdemeanors;

miſdemeanors; yet ſome of them, when their period of ſlavery is over, acquire plantations of their own, and are very expert in raiſing tobacco, and in the other branches of trade in that country. They frequently contract with their correſpondents in Europe, to ſend them over men, women, and children, to be employed in the culture of their plantations: But the fallacious promiſes of the undertakers here, are ſo pernicious to thoſe whom they engage, that they generally prove their utter deſtruction. By their manner of cajoling, they induce thoſe ignorant creatures to believe, that, when they indent themſelves for four or five years, to ſerve in the Plantations, they are to have high wages, to be paid annually in their mother-country. But when theſe deluded perſons come to make the experiment, they will find it quite the contrary. Be aſſured, you will meet with no ſuch entertainment in any part of America; for you muſt ſerve your indented time, agreeable to the laws of the country, without one farthing of allowance, but at the diſcretion of your maſter; and it is well if you are furniſhed with clothes ſufficient to cover your nakedneſs.

Beſides, you who indent yourſelves in this manner, labour under another diſadvantage; for, in that country, they are of opinion (and a natural preſumption it is), that when men and women, come to the age of maturity, wilfully and deliberately agree to tranſport themſelves as ſlaves for any number of years, they muſt have been guilty of ſome notorious crime; thoſe, therefore, who come over in this manner, are looked upon as in the black claſs of convicts, who, for fear of a proſecution at home, take this ſtep to prevent a diſcovery of their vices. For ſome time, honeſt people, who had engaged to ſerve in that country, ſuffered conſiderably on this account, both in their characters and

fortunes, as these renegadoes were allowed to be evidences against them, and to swear away their reputations. But this has at last been debarred by the laws of the country, as none are allowed this privilege, unless they bring along with them a certificate, signed and attested by persons of character and repute, bearing, that they were descended of honest parents, and that nothing criminal or dishonest can be laid to their charge; this being approved of and recorded in the books of a Court of Justice, the person's oath is then deemed legal.

From hence it appears, that numberless inconveniencies and disadvantages attend the person, who, though of an age capable to dispose of himself, by foolishly listening to the deceitful promises of these recruiters for slaves, at once stakes his happiness, his liberty, and perhaps his life. You will perhaps be told, that you are going to a country flowing with milk and honey. These, it is true, are to be had in great plenty in America; but before you come to enjoy them, you will find that you must wade through an ocean of labour and fatigue, and that out of the sweet cometh forth bitterness. Whereas, if you are possessed but of three or four pounds to pay your passage, and are of an ingenious disposition, whether in mechanics, commerce, agriculture, or manufactures, you are certain not only of handsome bread, but, by moderate frugality and industry, of making a genteel fortune in a few years.

Short

A Short history of the Proceſs between PETER WILLIAMSON and the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen.

IN the introduction to the former Diſcourſe on Kidnapping, I fairly ſtated the caſe betwixt the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen and me, without diſguiſing the truth in any the moſt minute particular. I therefore appeal to the unbiaſſed judgment of the candid Reader, whether, after the unmerited maltreatment I ſuffered from the arbitrary proceedings of theſe magiſtrates, merely for relating a ſimple, but diſagreeable fact, I ſay, I ſubmit it, whether I was not entitled to ſue for redreſs before a higher tribunal. The motives or principles upon which they acted, in the irregular proſecution againſt me, in which they were both my Accuſers and Judges, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but, from the proof before inſerted, the reader will hardly be at a loſs to form a conjecture. In order to aſcertain the power of a magiſtracy, it is neceſſary to have recourſe to the original inſtitution of it. That liberty which the conſtitution of this country conſiders as its favourite object, is the reſult of the equipoiſe which our laws have eſtabliſhed between the authority of Magiſtrates and the rights of the people. As the relative duties of ſociety muſt be enforced by the Magiſtrate, and compliance with the law exacted from the Citizens, by means of his authority, all the power that is neceſſary for theſe ſalutary purpoſes is veſted in him; and, in the due execution of it, he is not only entitled to the protection of the laws, but is an object of its veneration: Yet the ſame principles that have thus armed him with authority, for the benefit of ſociety, have wiſely impoſed upon him a reſtraint from abuſing it.

Senſible that authority improperly uſed, may become the moſt dreadful inſtrument of oppreſſion, the law has not only declared wilful malverſation in office to be a crime, but to thoſe who have ſuffered by the proceedings of Magiſtrates, whether through inattention or ignorance (for ignorance is never blameleſs in a Magiſtrate), it has given an action of oppreſſion and damages, for reparation of the injury the private party has ſuffered.

In this light did I conſider the harſh ſentence of the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen againſt me, p. 112. Had they acted, according to the eſtabliſhed forms of all courts of Juſtice, their proceedings would, at leaſt, have had ſome colour of regularity; though their ſentence would not have been leſs iniquitous. Why was not I complained of, by a party having intereſt in the cauſe? Why was not the complaint ſerved upon me, and I appointed to give in anſwers? Why were not the legal *induciæ*, or days, allowed me to prepare for my defence? All theſe forms were neglected or deſpiſed. The Magiſtrates themſelves inſtigated the complaint; they proceeded to judge upon it without ſervice; without allowing ing *induciæ*; and without anſwers. It is evident, therefore, they acted not as Magiſtrates, but as private oppreſſors.

Baniſhed from the capital of the county wherein I was born, and ſtript of my all, I now bethought myſelf where or how to apply for redreſs. In this view I purſued my journey to Edinburgh; but, ignorant of the law, and unacquainted with any of its members, equally deſtitute of money and friends, and labouring under the reflections which the calumnious advertiſement publiſhed by the Magiſtrates threw on my character, I was utterly at a loſs to whom, or in what manner, I ſhould apply to for direction. From this dilemma, however, I was ſoon relieved by the aſſiſtance of kind providence, who threw

threw me in the way of a Gentleman verſant in the Law, a Gentleman of knowledge, character, and integrity, by whoſe advice I was conducted, and by whoſe intereſt I was ſupported, from the infancy to the concluſion of my proceſs. On a fair relation of my grievances, the injuries I ſuffered appeared to him ſo flagrant, that he did not heſitate a moment to declare his opinion, That I was not only entitled to ample damages from my proſecutors, but that the Court of Seſſion would find no difficulty to award theſe, with full coſts of ſuit. It is unneceſſary here to take up the Reader's time in running over minutely the different ſteps of the proceſs from the beginning. Suffice it to ſay, that a proceſs of Oppreſſion and Damages was commenced at my inſtance, againſt the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen, wherein the Lord Ordinary allowed both parties a proof of the facts alleged on either ſide. And accordingly a Proof was taken, partly at Edinburgh, and partly at Aberdeen, of which the Reader has ſeen a ſpecimen in the preceding pages. I ſhall only obſerve here, that my perſonal preſence being neceſſary on this occaſion at the laſt-mentioned place, I ſet out from Edinburgh for Aberdeen in September 1760, and though I had not the leaſt knowledge of, or connection with any ſingle evidence I might bring, yet the trade of Kidnapping was ſo flagrant in that country, and had left ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the people, that I was under no difficulty to bring a complete proof of the practice, by a number of perſons who had ſuffered by it, being deprived of their children.

And here I cannot forbear doing juſtice to the conduct of the Gentleman whom I named as Commiſſioner, to take the depoſitions of the witneſſes on the part of my Opponents. During the various ſteps of procedure in leading the Proof, wherein I met with all the obſtructions that the malice of

my enemies could throw in my way, he acted a moſt candid and ingenuous part.

After a ſhort dependence, the cauſe at laſt came to be adviſed in courſe, before the Court of Seſſion, by Memorials on the proof; when, after hearing of parties at the bar at full length, their Lordſhips were pleaſed, on the 2d of February 1762, to pronounce the following Interlocutor:

"The Lords having adviſed the ſtate of the proceſs, teſtimonies of the witneſſes adduced, writs produced, with the memorials given in *hinc inde*, and having heard parties procurators thereon, find the libel relevant and proven; and find the defenders, conjunctly and ſeverally, liable to the Purſuer in damages, and modify the ſame to the ſum of 100 *l.* Sterling, and decern; and find the Defenders alſo, conjunctly and ſeverally, liable to the Purſuer in the expences of this proceſs, and of the extract of the Decreet, as the ſame ſhall be certified by the Collector of the clerk's fees; for which the Lords declare the Defenders to be perſonally liable, and that the ſame ſhall be no burden upon the town of Aberdeen; and ordain an account of the ſaid expences to be given in; and ordain the account-book mentioned in the State, and produced upon oath by Walter Cochran, and ſigned by the Lord Preſident, of this date, to remain in the hands of the clerk of this proceſs, till further order of the Court."

Againſt this Interlocutor, the Magiſtrates preſented a reclaiming Petition, craving either to be aſſoilzied from the Proceſs; or, at leaſt, that the damages awarded ſhould be modified. To this Petition is ſubjoined the following curious letter.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from William Davidſon *and* James Jopp, *late Bailies of Aberdeen, to* Walter Scott, *Writer to the Signet.*

SIR, *Aberdeen, February* 4, 1764.

WE are very ſorry to find by yours of 30th paſt, that there is a ſentence pronounced againſt us in Williamſon's proceſs, whereby we are decerned to pay to him a very large ſum out of our private pockets.

We think it neceſſary to inform you, that our conduct and intentions, with regard to our ſentence againſt him, have been entirely miſunderſtood. We can with the greateſt integrity declare, That, at the time of pronouncing that ſentence, neither of us knew, directly or indirectly, that Walter Cochran, the depute-clerk, was any ways concerned in tranſporting boys to America, or that there ever was in being the book he produced in the proof: That neither of us had ever any intereſt or concern in ſuch trade: That we never knew, and did not believe, that any men and boys were ever tranſported from Aberdeen to America contrary to law: That we conſidered the paragraph in Williamſon's book, reſpecting the merchants of Aberdeen, to be a very calumnious and reproachful aſperſion on them, which they did not deſerve: That Williamſon himſelf had the appearance of being an idle ſtroller, and could give no good account of himſelf, and had procured this pamphlet to be compoſed for him, of ſuch ſhocking circumſtances, in order the more eaſily to impoſe upon, and draw money from the credulous vulgar: And, upon the whole, That we had no motive of intereſt, either on our own account,

count, or any perſon whatever, or any prejudice againſt Williamſon (having never before ſeen or heard of him), to induce us to pronounce the ſentence againſt him: That we did it purely, as what we judged material juſtice to vindicate the character of thoſe we believed to be innocent, and were unjuſtly reflected upon; and that whatever in the ſentence appears to their Lordſhips to be either oppreſſive or illegal, proceeded entirely from error in judgment, and not from any ſiniſter deſign: So that however far the ſentence has been wrong, we are ready moſt freely to make any declaration that may be neceſſary, that it proceeded from the moſt innocent intention.

Under theſe circumſtances, you will eaſily perceive how much we were ſurpriſed on reading yours, giving account of the ſentence againſt us; and how hard a thing it is to be decerned to pay a ſum of money, as a fine, for doing what we conſidered to be our duty.

You will therefore lay this before the lawyers, in order they may the better form a reclaiming petition. We muſt think our caſe very hard, if their Lordſhips do not grant us redreſs in this matter. ——We are, *&c.*

W. DAVIDSON,
JAMES JOPP.

This letter, however, did not avail their cauſe. It was in vain to deny their being in the knowledge that ſuch an illicit ſpecies of traffic was carried on by ſome of the merchants in Aberdeen, when it was done in ſo public a manner, that the meaneſt reſident in the city obſerved it; when the *fama clamoſa* of KIDNAPPING overſpread the whole country, ſo that the poor people, whoſe buſineſs led them frequently to town, were afraid to carry their children along with them, leſt they ſhould be

be picked up, and transported to the Plantations. In the end, they insinuate that their sentence against me proceeded from an error in judgment, and not from any sinister design; and that they were willing to make any declaration necessary, to evince the innocence of their intentions. But if a sentence calculated for the suppression of truth, and to prevent the detection of a commerce the most illegal and most destructive of society, can be said to proceed from no sinister design, then every sentence that has a tendency to screen the guilty, and encourage those monsters who make a traffic of the persons and liberties of their fellow-creatures, must be accounted innocent. The whole of the procedure of the Magistrates against me appears to have been directed to this single end. From this view, they *first* caused the whole impression of my book to be seized, and those offensive tell-truth leaves to be burnt, that they might not revive the memory of this villanous trade, and rise in judgment against their brother-merchants. 2*do*, In order to make the surer work of it, they extorted from me the declaration inserted, p. 112, under the terror of imprisonment; and caused publish the same in the newspapers, in order to stigmatize my character, and brand me with the infamy of being an impostor and a liar. And, *lastly*, They banished me the city, lest I should retract my declaration, and have an opportunity to spread the truth of my former assertions. Their schemes, however, had an effect the very reverse of what they intended. Instead of suppressing the truth, their proceedings have proved the means of bringing it to light, and confirming it by indubitable evidence; and so opening a scene of the grossest impiety, barbarity, and wickedness.

To the above reclaiming petition, answers were given in on my part; and the Lords, after re-considering

sidering the merits of the cause, were pleased to adhere to their former Interlocutor. Thus ended this process of oppression, carried on by a poor man, against the Magistracy of one of the most opulent and most respectable boroughs in Scotland.

It is the peculiar happiness of this land of liberty to be blessed with a Supreme Court, wherein justice is dispensed with an equal hand to the poor and rich; wherein the cause of the King and the Beggar is weighed in the balance of equity and law, and decided in favour of him whose scale preponderates. Happy is that nation whose judges are men of integrity, uninfluenced by power, unbiassed by party, and untainted by corruption! Such become the Guardians of the liberties and properties of the people, the protectors of the innocent, the scourges of the guilty, the supporters of the weak, and the terrors of the tyrant and oppressor. Such are the members of that honourable tribunal to which I appealed my cause, who redressed my grievances, and allowed me such compensation for those acts of violence and oppression which I had suffered from my tyrannical prosecutors, as they, in their wisdom, thought just and equitable. Nor must I omit to pay a tribute of gratitude to those worthy and learned Gentlemen who appeared in my cause at the bar, and who nobly exerted themselves in opening up and displaying that scene of oppression and lawless persecution wherewith I had been harassed, and that without any prospect of fee or reward. In particular, I must acknowledge my obligations to that learned Lawyer, who was assigned me as Counsel by their Lordships, when my circumstances could not afford the price of a consultation. He generously embarked in my cause, and, by force of argument, law, and eloquence, exposed the injustice done me, and the weakness of my Opponent's reasonings, in such a light, that

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my plea became as clear as noon-day, and obvious to the meaneſt capacity.

I ſhall trouble the Reader no further on this ſubject, my chief intent in publiſhing this narrative of my Proceſs, being, to warn Gentlemen in power and ſtation, not to abuſe them by a lawleſs exerciſe of their authority againſt the poor and innocent; for they may be aſſured, that power will not ſanctify oppreſſion, nor will juſtice be hood-winked by riches. On the other hand, the weak and friendleſs need not deſpair of obtaining redreſs, though groaning under the yoke of tyranny: Let them have but the reſolution to apply to the College of Juſtice; Providence will throw friends in their way, their oppreſſors ſhall hide their heads, and the cruelties they have committed be retaliated upon them.

A particular Deſcription of the

INDIAN TOMAHAWK.

THE hatchet or axe, which the Indians call a Tomahawk, is uſed by them in many different employments. This inſtrument, in its preſent form, is ſaid to have been the invention of the great William Penn, firſt proprietor of Penſylvania. The tools uſed by the Indians, when he came among them, were made of ſtone; which were of little uſe in cutting wood. He procured a Tomahawk, and a ſcalping knife; and employed European ſmiths to make ſuch after the Indian pattern; which was accordingly done. The Tomahawk was made like a plaſterer's hammer, with a whiſtle in the handle, to give an alarm in caſe of danger: by this, and ſuch-like inventions, the name of Penn became famous among them. The Indians he found much addicted to ſmoking tobacco; but for want of a better method, they ſmoked through leaves twiſted up into a kind of a pipe. Smo-

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[illegible] he distributed several gross of English tobacco pipes among them, which pleased them for the instant; but unused to such brittle ware, the pipes would not bear their rough usage, but quickly broke; which left Penn his credit among them, as they concluded themselves defrauded, since pipes so easily broke they esteemed of no service. Father Penn, as they called him, was thereupon obliged to restore the Indian goods he had received in exchange for the pipes; and was glad to make speedy restitution to prevent bad consequences. He then caused the Tomahawk to be made to hold tobacco in the head of it, with a hole drilled through the handle to smoke by: an instrument of such beneficial service entirely regained him the confidence of the Indians; and was much more prized than the former, with the whistle at the end. It is now become useful in many branches of their business. In time of war they carry it with them, under their belts, and, when victory inclines to their side, after firing their guns, they rush upon their enemies with it, fracturing and cleaving their skulls; very seldom failing of killing with the first blow. They are also very dexterous in throwing it, and will strike an object at 50 yards distance. They also employ it in cutting wood, and in barking trees, at the season when they make their canoes. On the handle of the Tomahawk they record the occurrences of war. When their warriors are sent to fight, they cut as many notches on the handle of the hatchet to know their number by. Their wounded are also marked down, with the number of prisoners they take from the enemy; each in a different manner. So that at the close, they are enabled to form an estimate of the success of every expedition. Their Tomahawk is also the register of their time: the returns of the moon, and remarkable events, are thereon distinguished; as will appear upon conversing with any of their wise men, who can account for themselves for 6000 moons past.

FINIS.